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UN ENVOY REAFFIRMS SUPPORT OF PALESTINIANS

OWO40248 Beijing XINHUA in English 0210 GMT 4 Dec 81

[Text] United Nations, December 3 (XINHUA) -- Permanent Representative of China to the United Nations Ling Qing reaffirmed today at the debate on the question of Palestine that "the Chinese Government and people will always support the just struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples for the restoration of their national rights and the recovery of their lost lands."

After listing Israel's aggressive acts against the Palestinian and Arab peoples, Ling Qing pointed out that "all these perverse acts on the part of the Israeli authorities compounded the turbulence and tensions in the Middle East situation, and brought untold sufferings to the people of the region, including the people of Israel."

Criticizing the superpower who takes sides with Israel, he said, "Such short-sighted policy only increases the opportunities for the other superpower to further infiltrate into the Middle East." "This other superpower," he continued, "under the guise of being the 'natural ally' of the Arab peoples, is fishing in the troubled waters of the Middle East region, trying by hook or by crook to infiltrate into the Middle East region, attempting to establish strategic bases there to serve its strategic goal of controlling the Middle East and ultimately outflanking Western Europe."

Commenting on the new initiative submitted by an Arab country, Ling Qing said, "The Chinese Government will always give its positive assessment to all initiatives and actions aimed at facilitating a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East question and at the recovery of the rights of the Palestinian people." He reiterated that Israel must withdraw from all Arab lands occupied since 1967, including Jerusalem, the national rights of the Palestinian people must be restored, all countries in the Middle East region enjoy the right to independence and existence and the PLO should participate in all efforts for a just and comprehensive solution to the Middle East question.

YOUTH PAPER VIEWS U.S.-USSR NUCLEAR ARMS TALKS

HK031311 Beijing ZHONGGUO QINGNIAN BAO in Chinese 28 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Huang Tianying [7806 1131 3853]: "Can a Tune Be Played? -- On the Soviet-U.S. European Theater Nuclear Weapons Talks" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] The door for Soviet-U.S. talks has been opened. Talks will soon be held in Geneva on limiting European theater nuclear weapons. These are the U.S. Government's first official talks with the Soviet Government in this field since the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan. They show that new changes in Soviet-U.S. relations have taken place since Ronald Reagan took office. What are the prospects for the coming talks? Will substantive agreements be reached? This is a question that attracts the attention of international political circles. It will not only concern future Soviet-U.S. bilateral relations but also affect these two superpowers' overall strategy in Europe.

Origin of the Talks

In the past few years, in order to seek strategic military superiority over the United States, the Soviet Union has been striving to develop new powerful long-range nuclear weapons. One of them is the SS-20 medium-range missile. In 1977, the Soviet Union started to deploy these missiles in Europe, resulting in its gaining superiority over NATO in European theater nuclear strength.

To deal with the serious threat of the Soviet SS-20 missiles, NATO member states decided to adopt countermeasures in December 1979. They decided to start deploying U.S. Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe in 1983 and to hold talks with the Soviet Union on medium-range missiles in Europe. This is called the "dual track" decision (concurrently deploying missiles and holding talks).

The Soviet Union was greatly annoyed at these countermeasures adopted by NATO. It attacked NATO's decision to deploy medium-range missiles in Europe as a "serious threat" to Europe's security and disguised itself as a "standard bearer of peace." In February this year, at the 26th Congress of the CPSU, Brezhnev proposed "freezing" the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe in an attempt to drive a wedge between the United States and the West European countries and to prevent NATO from deploying missiles. In May this year, Brezhnev reiterated this proposal but the United States did not respond. It was not until September this year when U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig held talks with Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko on two occasions that an agreement was reached to hold talks in Geneva on limiting European theater nuclear weapons in order to meet the needs of each side.

Each Goes Its Own Way

On 18 November, on the eve of the Geneva conference and shortly before Brezhnev's visit to West Germany, Reagan proposed dismantling both sides' medium-range missiles. To be more precise, the Soviet Union is to withdraw its SS-20, SS-4 and SS-5 nuclear missiles which are targeted on Western Europe, and the United States will then cancel its plans to deploy Pershing II and cruise missiles in Western Europe. The Soviet Union rejected Reagan's proposal on the same day. During his visit to West Germany, Brezhnev again openly stated: We will never agree to Reagan's proposal. The chief differences between the Soviet Union and the United States are:

1. **SUPERIORITY AND PARITY** The United States holds that in the past decade or so, the Soviet Union has been striving to increase its military strength. As a result, not only its conventional weapons are superior to those of the United States, but its European theater nuclear weapons are also superior. For example, the Soviet Union has deployed 750 warheads on the SS-20 missiles in the European theater. This number already exceeds the total number of 572 warheads which NATO plans to deploy starting in 1983.

On the other hand, the Soviet Union strongly denies its superiority in the European theater. It holds that the numbers of each side's medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe are more or less the same and that parity exists.

2. **MAJOR TOPICS FOR THE TALKS** The Soviet Union wants to put the question of land-based missiles as well as all weapon systems such as aircraft and submarines deployed by the United States and its allies on the agenda of the talks.

The United States has resolutely opposed this and stated: If the Soviet Union insists on including planes deployed by NATO in Britain and those on U.S. aircraft carriers, the United States will also include all Soviet planes that can reach Western Europe in addition to its long-range aircraft. Besides, thousands of planes deployed by the Soviet Union in Poland, East Germany and Czechoslovakia should also be included in the talks.

3. **THE ROLE PLAYED BY SS-20 MISSILES** The Soviet Union has once and again explained: The SS-20 missiles are not very powerful nuclear weapons. They cannot reach the United States and are only "defensive weapons." The Soviet Union's deployment of these weapons will not affect the balance of military strength and so on.

But the United States holds a different view. In June this year, NATO's Supreme Allied Commander Bernard Rogers said that the SS-20 missiles which the Soviet Union had deployed extensively were new long-range nuclear weapons that were powerful, "highly accurate and mobile." Each SS-20 missile is capable of carrying three warheads and "each warhead is equivalent to 15 kilotons, or 7 times as powerful as the atomic bomb dropped in Hiroshima. Even now, the Soviet Union is still deploying five more such missiles each month.

4. THE "ZERO OPTION" The United States has proposed that in order to reach "truly reciprocal" agreements in the coming talks, the Soviet Union should first withdraw all SS-20 missiles it has deployed in Europe; that is to say, the Soviet Union should back away from a "starting point" which is ahead of the United States and both sides should stand at the same "starting point." This is the "zero option" proposed by the West. At the North Atlantic Assembly held in mid-October this year, the parliamentarians unanimously agreed to adopt the "zero solution" and held that the "zero option" was "the most ideal solution."

However, the Soviet Union has a different explanation for the "zero option." According to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union and the United States are already in a state of parity. If both sides temporarily stop increasing medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe, they are already at the same "starting point." This is the so-called "zero option" of the Soviet Union.

Each Has Its Own Calculations

That both the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed to hold talks is the inevitable result of the developing situation. They are forced to hold talks, yet each has its own plan.

Viewed from the Soviet Union: In the past 2 years, the Soviet Union has repeatedly proposed holding talks with the United States. There are military and political reasons for this. Militarily speaking, since NATO decided to deploy medium-range missiles in Western Europe, the Soviet Union has been determined to undermine this plan. The reason is that the Pershing II missiles and the cruise missiles which NATO has planned to deploy in Western Europe are nuclear weapons as powerful as, and even more powerful than, the Soviet SS-20 missiles. However, since NATO's deployment will only begin in 1983, it gives the Soviet Union the advantage of time. In the past 2 years, the Soviet Union has resorted to various tactics to prevent NATO from realizing its plan in order to maintain Soviet military superiority. Politically speaking, the Soviet Union has proposed to hold talks in order to kill two birds with one stone: one reason is to create a false impression of detente and to extricate itself from unprecedented isolation since its invasion of Afghanistan in order to gain the initiative in pushing its global strategy; another reason is to cause the disintegration of U.S.-European relations. It wants to take advantage of contradictions between the United States and Europe on questions such as detente, Europe's security and the deployment of medium-range missiles, and drive a wedge between them and upset their plans of joint resistance of the Soviet Union.

Viewed from the United States: In the beginning, the United States remained indifferent to the Soviet proposal to hold talks. However, recently, sentiments of pacifism and neutrality have grown in some Western countries and the Soviet Union has strived to take advantage of them and fueled the fire. Liberal factions in the United States do not agree with the Reagan administration's hardline policy of refusing to hold talks with the Soviet Union either.

In addition, the "dual track" decision adopted by NATO in December 1979 included holding talks with the Soviet Union. Therefore, taking into account the sentiments of the West European countries and to pacify dissatisfaction at home, the United States has finally agreed to hold talks with the Soviet Union.

The United States also has its own plan for the coming talks: One of its aims is to take advantage of the Soviet Union's eagerness to hold talks and of its difficulties in order to gain time. It wants to curb the Soviet Union's momentum of expansion and aggression. At the same time, it also wants to undermine the Soviet scheme of weakening U.S.-European relations. The other aim is to put up a show of implementing NATO's "dual track" decision in order to quiet the pacifist sentiments in Western Europe. In reality, it wants to remove ideological obstacles that hinder the realization of NATO's plan to deploy medium-range missiles in Western Europe and to create conditions for further strengthening NATO's military strength.

Although both the Soviet Union and the United States have agreed to hold talks, they will not easily agree to each other's plans at the talks because each side is concerned with its own interests. On the contrary, both sides will try to take advantage of the opportunity to gain what they need. Viewed from the words and deeds of the Soviet Union and the United States on the eve of the talks, both sides seem to have taken a hardline attitude. This has cast a shadow over the talks. It is quite possible that the talks will drag on and no agreement will be reached at all.

BRIEFS

UN OFFICIAL IN SHANDONG -- (Bi-ji-long), under secretary general of the United Nations, and an accompanying delegation left Jinan on the afternoon of 17 November, concluding their visit to Shandong Province. Under secretary General (Bi-ji-long) and his entourage came to the province on 12 November, accompanied by (Zhao Yannian), director of the Foreign Affairs Bureau under the State Agricultural Commission. On the evening of 16 November, Deputy Governor Li Zhen feted the entourage. [Jinan Shandong Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 17 Nov 81 SK]

INTERNATIONAL GRAIN STORAGE FORUM -- Nanning, 25 Nov (XINHUA) -- A 10-day international forum on grain storage closed this week in Nanning, capital of the Guangxi Zhuang Autonomous Region. The forum, sponsored by the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization and the Chinese Ministry of Food under the support of the U.N. Development Program, is part of an effort to promote exchange and development of grain storage techniques and ensure the safety of stored grain. Attending the forum were 23 representatives from Bangladesh, India, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, Thailand, Cyprus, Portugal, Australia and Italy, and 15 Chinese specialists. During the meeting, they visited granaries in nearby Binyang County and a research institute of the region's food bureau. [Text] [Beijing XINHUA in English 0746 GMT 25 Nov 81 OW]

INTERNATIONAL TOURISM MEETING -- Kunming, 26 Nov (XINHUA) -- An international gathering of domestic and foreign travel agents convened here for four days started yesterday to discuss problems of international tourism and development of China's tourist services. The meeting is sponsored by the Kunming branch of the China International Travel Service, the Australian Service Marco Polo Travel Ltd. and Qantas Airway Ltd. More than 130 specialists from 16 countries and regions, including France, India, Mexico, Nepal, the United States, Hong Kong and Macao, as well as Chinese agents from across the country are attending. After the meeting, the participants will discuss business cooperation. [Excerpt] [Beijing XINHUA in English 1236 GMT 26 Nov 81 OW]

SENATOR WARNS AGAINST POLICY CHANGE ON PRC

OW040742 Beijing XINHUA in English 0723 GMT 4 Dec 81

["U.S. Senator Warns Against Retrogression on U.S.-China Policy" -- XINHUA headline]

[Text] Washington, December 3 (XINHUA) -- U.S. Democratic Senator Henry Jackson warned today that "any policy pursued by our government that brings about a change in the strategic relationship with China is playing with fire." "It is not in our national interest to do anything which would bring about a change in our relationship with the Government of the People's Republic of China," he said.

Senator Jackson met foreign correspondents in the foreign press center here today. Replying to a question on President Reagan's China policy, Jackson said, "I can't speak clearly as to what the Reagan administration's policy is at this point, because I don't know. But (?I know) what it ought to be. It ought to be the policy that goes back to the Shanghai Communique agreed to by President Nixon and the policy reaffirmed by President Carter."

"A ground rule has been laid down," he went on to say. "Both countries agree that there is only one China and that Taiwan is a part of China. Both sides agree." He stressed that "it is vital for the Western world to understand the importance of maintaining a strategic balance in the world, and China, with one-fourth of the world's population, is a critical participant in the balance."

BALTIMORE SUN COMMENTS ON REUNIFICATION ISSUE

OW040820 Beijing XINHUA in English 0810 GMT 4 Dec 81

[Text] Washington, December 3 (XINHUA) -- The Baltimore SUN pointed out editorially today that it is in the interests of Taiwan as well as America for the Chinese mainland and Taiwan to get together. "The nationalists (on Taiwan) must acknowledge that it is in their interest as much as ours for them to respond positively to Peking's offer (China's nine-point proposal for a peaceful unification) for recognizing their special regional status," the paper said.

The paper urged the U.S. administration not to "overlook the strategic implications of difficulties between Washington and Peking" in handling the issue of U.S. arms sales to Taiwan. "A belligerent China would reverse the promise of long-term stability to the Far East," said the editorial. It pointed out the Chinese concern about "sovereignty issues involved in the Taiwan issue" and the fact that both the Chinese communists and the nationalists regard Taiwan as "an integral part of China."

The same paper earlier published an article by Stanley Karnow, expressing similar views. The article said the U.S. administration "ought to make clear that it favors a dialogue" between Peking and Taipei. Peking's peaceful "gesture itself offers an important historical lesson," said the article. The historical lesson is, according to the article, "passivity may be the best American policy in many situations abroad. For active U.S. involvement in a crisis frequently propels it toward a point of no return."

U.S. DEBATE OVER MX MISSILE DEPLOYMENT VIEWED

OW041207 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Dec 81

[From "International Current Events" program: "Debates Over MX Missile Deployment in the United States"]

[Excerpts] Judging from the debates in the U.S. Congress, there is an internal consensus of opinion in the United States over the question of adopting measures to develop strategic nuclear weapons to reverse the U.S.-Soviet military imbalance. The focus of the MX missile debates is on how and where to deploy these missiles. Actually, it is a question of how to enhance the mobility of the ICBM's and prevent their easy destruction by the enemy.

Americans who maintain that ICBM's should be deployed on submarines argue that submarines traveling underwater are highly concealed and mobile without a predictable course, making it impossible for the enemy to destroy them all in one strike. But Air Force supporters maintain that it is too expensive and unsafe to deploy ICBM's on submarines and that in time of war, an underwater nuclear explosion will trigger seismic sea waves and thoroughly disrupt the submarines. Some people advocate deploying ICBM's on strategic bombers. They are discounted by others as even more unsafe because an aircraft is more subject to surprise attack by the enemy's ICBM's and missiles launched from submarines.

The United States has developed a warning system comprised of satellites and radars that can promptly detect ICBM's fired from the Soviet Union. It takes about 30 minutes for a Soviet-launched ICBM to reach the United States. If this ICBM is promptly detected, U.S. strategic bombers will still have time to take off and elude it. However, if a missile is launched from a Soviet submarine off the U.S. coast, it will strike the United States in 5 minutes and U.S. strategic bombers will not be able to take off and evade it.

It is also unsafe to deploy ICBM's on land. Today's highly-developed satellite reconnaissance technology makes it possible for a satellite to identify even an ox on earth. The land-based ICBM's are most vulnerable to attack. However, the Soviet Union and the United States at present still regard the land-based ICBM's as the most important strategic weapons because of their advantages. Land-based ICBM's have relatively reliable command and control equipment, are able to swiftly change their programmed target and have a high precision rate for warhead impact and a low cost of maintenance. The unending debate over MX missile deployment in the United States in recent years began at a time when the United States was lagging behind the Soviet Union in strategic weapons.

Former President Carter leaned toward a multiple-bunker deployment plan that called for building ground shelters in the sparsely-populated western states of Utah and Nevada.

Reagan's recent plan for strengthening America's strategic nuclear strength abandoned Carter's plan and called for temporarily installing missiles in the existing land-based missile silos, which are to be reinforced first. This means using the existing Minuteman-III ICBM silos. Many political and military figures oppose this as unsafe. Some people still want to deploy MX missiles on strategic bombers or on submarines. Since each of these opinions has its advantages and disadvantages and is not free from hazards, it seems the debates will go on and on

HONGQI ON SOVIET HISTORIANS VIEW ON CENTRAL ASIA

HK020322 Beijing HONGQI in Chinese No 21, 1 Nov 81 pp 44-48

[Article by Lu Wei [4151 5517] and Yang Jianxin [2799 1676 2450]: "Soviet Historiography Defends the Old Czars' Aggression and Expansion -- Several Questions Concerning the History of Czarist Russia's Expansion Into Central Asia"]

[Text] In recent years Soviet historians, acting at the direction of the Soviet authorities, have published a series of articles and books. (These articles and books are too numerous to be all listed; the most important works are as follows: "On the History of the Formation of the Sino-Soviet Border" by Beskrovniy and others, carried in issue No 6 of the Russian Journal INTERNATIONAL LIFE in 1972; "Comments on the History of Minority Groups in the Pamirs" by Iskandarov, carried in issue No 1 of FAR EASTERN QUESTIONS in 1973; and "The Qing Empire's Invasion of Central Asia and Russian Policy in the Second Half of the 18th Century," "Several Questions Concerning Han Chauvinism and Central Asian Minorities during the 18th and 19th Centuries," and "Several Questions Concerning the History of Central Asia and Kazakhstan and the Distortion of These Questions in PRC Journals" by Gullevich, carried in the journal SOVIET HISTORY respectively in issue No 2 in 1973, issue No 9 in 1974 and issue No 2 in 1979. These materials were written to defend czarist Russia's criminal annexation of central Asia (including what was China's northwestern border at that time. Moreover, they were used to promote anti-Chinese propaganda. Although they raised a wide variety of seemingly different arguments, they contained no more than three main themes throughout: 1) Czarist Russia's aggression and expansion was in order to "prevent" invasion by other nations; 2) the nations and peoples annexed by czarist Russia were all "incorporated on a voluntary basis; and 3) the annexation of these countries and peoples promoted the development of the region. In short, czarist Russia's aggression and expansion was entirely justified, not only should it not be criticized but it should be actually praised. The reason that Soviet historians go to such extremes to defend czarist Russia's aggression and expansion obviously is not that they hope to offer comfort to the ghosts of the old czars but rather that they hope to meet the needs of the current Soviet leadership which is pursuing a policy of hegemonism; they are "using the contemptible acts of the past to defend the contemptible acts of the present." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," "Introduction to 'Critique of Hegel's Legal Philosophy," vol 1, p 454) Therefore, exposure and refutation of the various fallacies the Soviet historians have used to defend czarist Russia's expansionist policy will help both to restore the true face of history and to alert us to the true nature of the Soviet Union's current hegemonistic foreign policy.

"Preventive" Invasion or Expansionist Invasion?

Everyone is quite clear about the fact that czarist Russia was a great empire which was built by continuously expanding its territory. However, Soviet historians have tried in every possible way to whitewash the masses of relevant historical facts and have even gone so far as to concoct a countercharge, saying that czarist Russia's criminal annexation of central Asia and China's northwestern border region was intended only to "prevent" invasion. Gullevich, for example, in his various articles has said that czarist Russia's expansion into the upper reaches of the Ertix River, the Altai region, and Kazakh grasslands was in order to resist the "invasion and harassment" of the Dzungar people and to "prevent a possible attack by the Qing Empire." It was also supposed to be a precautionary measure to "block Chinese expansion beyond the border of Dzungar, eastern Turkistan and western Mongolia." (Gullevich: "The Qing Empire's Invasion of Central Asia and Russian Policy in the Second Half of the 18th Century") But, Beskrovniy and others insist that czarist Russia annexed the three khanates of Khiva, Bokhara and Khokand merely to contain the northward extension of British power. (Beskrovniy and others: "On the History of the Formation of the Sino-Soviet Border") Such views are clearly meant to defend czarist Russia's aggression and expansion.

Hegemonistic control of the world was the policy of every czarist ruler, and the expansion of territory has always been the key to such control. From the reign of Ivan IV onward czarist Russia continuously expanded, particularly in the eastern region where its seizure of territory had spread to beyond the Volga River and over the Ural Mountains and included the annexation of Siberia, whereupon it turned the spearhead of its aggression directly toward the northwestern border of China and other central Asia regions. Naturally, the people and countries that suffered invasion could not be expected to subserviently allow themselves to be made slaves. For the local people opposition to Russian aggression by any possible means was, of course, entirely justified. However, in the eyes of Soviet historians such resistance was an unforgivable outrage as it constituted an aggressive threat to czarist Russia; Russian aggression, on the other hand, is seen as the "just" prevention of invasion.

We can take the area around the upper reaches of the Ertix River as an example. This area was originally the territory of the Chinese Dzungars but after czarist Russia had seized the lower reaches of the river at the end of the 16th century, the czar sent the Kazakhs to go upstream toward the south, often intruding into Dzungar territory. Particularly during the reign of Peter I, the czarist government saw the southward route along the Ertix River as a shortcut for the invasion of China. (Jie-lian-ji-ye-fu [2212 6647 1323 5102 1133]: "The History of the Conquest of Central Asia," vol 1, p 19, published in 1906 in St Petersburg) At the beginning of the 18th century when it was learned that the Chinese area of Yarkant had gold mines, Peter I in 1714 dispatched an "investigatory unit" led by a lieutenant colonel to the area to "investigate." This "investigatory unit" was composed of more than 2,900 fully armed soldiers (it was later increased by another 1,000 men). They followed the Ertix River upstream toward the south, building fortifications as they went in the hope of annexing the whole western section of China's Xinjiang region at one fell swoop. Owing to the steadfast resistance of the Dzungars, this plan remained unfulfilled. In the latter half of the 19th century, however, czarist Russia took advantage of the fact that China was being dismembered by the great powers and was powerless to protect its western borders, and eventually succeeded in annexing the upper reaches of the Ertix River as well as several other areas to the northeast.

The annexation of the Kazakh grasslands followed a similar pattern. As early as the 17th century this region was already seen as "the hinge or door which connects Russia to Asia." (Schuler: "Turkestan," vol 2, p 403 published in 1876 in London) At the beginning of the 18th century the czar "dispatched troops to the banks of the Ural and Ertix Rivers in order to bring the area's people under control." (Jie-lian-ji-ye-fu: "The History of the Conquest of Central Asia," vol 1, p 19) During the 1830's the Kazakh lesser tents were forced to "acknowledge allegiance" to czarist Russia. Russia's influence then extended into the Kazakh medium tents. Finally, in the 1840's Russia annexed the Kazakh greater tents. Historical facts prove that no time before or after this series of annexations did a single nation in this region ever invade Russia even pose any threat to Russia. In fact, it was czarist Russia which took advantage of the Qing government's weakness and shamelessly expanded into the Kazakh grasslands and the western section of China's Xinjiang region. The situation was just as one of the architects of Russia's expansionist policy described it, from the end of the 19th century the "weakness and powerlessness" of the Qing government "greatly facilitated our efforts to penetrate beyond the far bank of the Ili River and launch an attack into central Asia." (Babakov: "Recollections of My Stay in Siberia," p 157, published in St Petersburg in 1912)

While the contradictions and competition between Russia and England for Khiva and the other two khanates of central Asia were certainly very intense, it was Russia which was the most aggressive party from beginning to end. As far as Russia was concerned the three khanates of central Asia were not only extremely alluring quarry in their own right but were also an important bridge with India.

As early as 1717, Peter I sent troops to conquer Khiva, believing that "forcing Khiva and Bokhara to acknowledge Russian rule was a necessary precondition for our control of the central Asian grasslands." ("Asian Russians," p 126 edited by the immigration section of the Russian Land and Construction Bureau, published in 1914) Furthermore, England at this time had not yet set foot in central Asia. At the beginning of the 19th century, czar Paul I ordered Russian troops to proceed from Orenberg to Astrakhan and then cross the Caspian Sea to Ashkhabad, and then directly travel down into India through Herat, Kandahar and Kabul. ("Modern Soviet History," p 126, edited by A.M. Pankratova and translated by Sheng Wei, published 1954 by China Bookstore) This would have put the three central Asian khanates, Afghanistan and India all directly under the rule of czarist Russia. Since Paul I died less than 2 months after issuing this order, the expeditionary force had no choice but to turn back half way, while his successors strove desperately to accomplish this mission. In the middle of the 19th century Russia once more directed its attention toward central Asia, and during the 1860's and 1870's managed to conquer the three central Asia khanates and finally "established an excellent base from which China and the English dependency of east India could be attacked," and since Russia had already annexed Khokand, it was very easy for further "Russian expansion into the Pamir region." (Jie-lian-ji-ye-fu: "The History of the Conquest of Central Asia," vol 2, p 426) Even the Soviet historian Iskandarov cannot but admit that, "the incorporation of central Asia into Russia and the movement of Russian troops toward the Pamirs caused considerable consternation among members of the British ruling class. In the hope of stopping further Russian movement in the direction of British colony of India, English troops were quickly moved to forward positions into Hindu Kush." (Iskandarov: "Comments on the History of Minority Groups in the Pamirs") Since this was the case, how can one continue to say that czarist Russia's annexation of the three central Asia khanates was meant only as means of preventing England from moving further north? As Engels pointed out, it was in order to meet its own economic needs that Russia "continued to invade the Balkan Peninsula and Asia. The final aim of its aggression in the Balkans was the conquest of Constantinople, while the invasion of Asia was motivated by the desire to conquer the British colony of India." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," "German Socialism," vol 22, p 300)

Soviet historians have also distorted the truth about the seizure of the Chinese Pamir region by czarist Russia, saying that since "in the late 1880's the Qing authorities at the instigation of the British intended to unilaterally occupy the eastern Pamirs," (Beskrovniy: "On the History of the Formation of the Sino-Soviet Border"), czarist Russia was forced to invade the central Pamirs in order to prevent both British expansion and Chinese aggression.

Historically, the Pamirs have always been Chinese territory; from the western Han period onward successive Chinese governments established administrative offices and military garrisons in the area and had managed to control the region successfully.

From the middle of the 19th century both Britain and Russia began to penetrate into this region from the south and north respectively. In 1884, czarist Russia coerced China's Qing government into signing "the Sino-Soviet treaty of continuously surveying the boundary at Kashgar," and annexed the northwestern section of China's Pamirs. During the 1880's and 1890's England seized Kan-ju-ti [0522 1565 2251] and began to intensify its operations in the southwestern region of the Pamirs. Under such conditions of increasingly fierce rivalry between Britain and Russia over the control of the Pamirs, the Qing government began to strengthen defense measures in the region.

In 1892 Russia, flaunting the banner of "stopping the premeditated occupation of Russian territory by neighboring countries," (Jie-liam-ji-ye-fu: "The History of the Conquest of Central Asia," vol 3, p 405) openly violated the clauses of the above-mentioned treaty and dispatched troops into the Pamirs, seizing over 20,000 square meters of Chinese territory west of the Sa-lei-kuo-le [5646 7191 7059 0519] range. Soviet historians, however, mock historical facts, saying that these acts of open aggression were designed merely to guard against Chinese aggression. Insofar as there existed acute contradictions between the two imperial powers of Britain and Russia, both countries must be seen as aggressors especially as such contradictions were based on mutual conflict over the seizure of colonies and dependencies and the plundering of the wealth of seized territories. However, Soviet historians insist on seeing this aggression in terms of "defense," and this clearly shows that they are acting at the direction of the Soviet authorities who are seeking every way possible to defend the Soviet Union's illegal occupation of the Chinese Pamir region, regardless of whether or not this involves the inversion of right and wrong or the distortion of history.

"Voluntary Incorporation" or Annexation by Force?

According to the arguments in several Soviet historical works it was not czarist Russia that annexed central Asia but rather that the people of the area "hoped to become Russian citizens" (Gullevich: "The Qing Empire's Invasion of Central Asia and Russian Policy in the Second Half of the 18th Century"), and "sought Russian protection and demanded that they be accepted as Russian subjects." (Pu-luo-huo-luo-fu: [2528 5012 7207 1133]: "On the Sino-Soviet Border Question," p 139, published by the Moscow INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS in 1975) In a word, it was because the people of central Asia sought the benevolence and mercy of czarist Russia that the whole region was smoothly incorporated into Russia.

What are the actual facts?

Before the middle of the 19th century czarist Russia's annexation of the Kazakh grasslands and China's northwestern border was accomplished through gradual military nibbling. As one of the old czars followers, who took part in the slaughter of central Asian people admitted, "Our military border advances forward like a chain, and we have already seized a large section of the grasslands." He also proclaimed that "military garrisons and troops are the best tools for taming the masses." (Jie-lian-ji-ye-fu: "The History of the Conquest of Central Asia," vol 1, p 52) After the middle of the 19th Century, however, the construction of garrisons and gradual military nibbling could no longer satisfy czarist Russia's expansionist desires and they began open warfare, using brutal military force to conquer the three khanates of Khiva, Khokand and Bokhara and the Turkistan region. Cities and towns through which the Russian army passed were razed to the ground while numerous villages were also reduced to rubble. "The troops plundered and pillaged as they advanced," "destroying the grain stocks and unharvested crops of any village and town they entered." (ibid, vol 3, p 109) The burning, killing and pillaging carried on by the Russian army caused the people of central Asia an unprecedented amount of suffering.

In order to defend the criminal aggression of czarist Russia, some Soviet historians cite the treaties concluded between Russia and high-ranking leaders in central Asia as "legal proof" of central Asia's "voluntary incorporation" into Russia. In actual fact, this only highlights the cunning and perfidy of the aggressors. These "treaty agreements," exalted by believers of the "voluntary incorporation" argument, are nothing more than a farce and fraud played out by the Russian aggressors who managed to buy off few high-ranking leaders in the region. Furthermore, the agreements were reached under and supported by the military threat posed by the so-called "expeditionary force." Here we shall only discuss the "merging" of Kazakh lesser tent with Russia. When Peter I first sent troops into Kazakhstan he pointed out to his subordinates that, "If this khanate is unwilling to come under the direct jurisdiction of Russia, a treaty which enjoins the Russian empire to undertake protection of the area will do.

"The expenses involved may be high, perhaps even as high as a million, however, this is not to concern you." (Soviet magazine RED RECORDS, vol 78, p 188 published in 1936) After this, the czarist followers ignoring the great expense involved, managed to buy off Abahai [second Manchu emperor]. Not long after the khan had sworn "loyalty" to the czar, however, he and the Russian representative, Colonel Jie-fo-ke-lie-fu [2212 1715 0344 0441 1133], were both driven out of the khanate by the local people. The khan who had been bought off by the Russians was later killed by his own people. At the same time, however, czarist Russia also organized an "expeditionary force" headed by Ji-li-luo-fu [1015 6849 3157 1133] which had as its mission the "supervision" of the local Kazakhs and Bashkirs. It was also instructed to try to use every possible means of "playing one ethnic group off against the other." This "expeditionary force" was extremely large; the second echelon alone comprised five cavalry companies. (Jie-lian-ji-ye-fu: "The History of the Conquest of Central Asia," vol 1, pp 61, 48) The so-called "merging" of Kazakh lesser tent with Russia was the result of this kind of military threat and political trickery. Because this was the case, when the Qi-ke-lin [1142 0344 2651] people of Kazakhstan managed to repulse the Russians from Kara-kam it was openly declared that, Abahai is the only Russian subject in the area. He has sent his sons to Russia and often receives rewards. None of us, however, are Russian subjects. (Ibid, p 53)

The most convincing and thorough refutation of the lies about "voluntary incorporation" is, of course, the continuous struggle of the central Asian people against the Russian aggressors. Even in the 18th century anti-Russian "rebellions" and "disturbances" frequently broke out on the Kazakh grasslands. By the 19th century these rebellions began to occur on an even larger scale. The lesser tents, a rebellion led by T-xi-mo-fu [0122 1585 5459 1133] broke out in 1812 and lasted until 1820; in 1836 another rebellion led by Yi-sa-da-yi [0122 5646 6671 0122] and Ma-ha-mu-ba-te [746 0807 1191 1579 3676] broke out. From 1832 until 1836 the medium tents were disturbed by the rebellion led by Sha-de-shi-an [3097 1795 0087 1344]. During the 1820's, 1830's and 1840's a rebellion led by Gai-nie-sa-lei [5556 3206 5646 7191] spread over the whole of Kazakhstan, clearly expressing the anticolonialism of the masses. In all, this rebellion lasted 20 years. After Russia's bloody conquest of the three khanates the fires of rebellious struggle continued to burn. In 1898 the Andizhan rebellion, which is of great significance in the history of central Asia, broke out in the Fergana region and struck a powerful blow against the Russian aggressors. The leader of the rebellion, Muhammad Ali called upon the people to rise up and fight for their independence.

The various resistance struggles mentioned above embodied the bitter and deep-seated hatred of the central Asian people for the Russian aggressors; they also incisively mock the fallacy promoted by the "voluntary incorporation" theory that the people of central Asia "hoped to become Russian subjects," and "sought Russian protection."

"The Promotion of Development" or Exploitation and Plunder?

The other argument used to defend Russian aggression is the so-called "promotion of development" theory. According to this argument the backward area of central Asia "needed" to establish "close trade links" with the advanced nation of Russia, and this provided a "profound economic reason" for the "merging" of certain areas in central Asia with Russia. Because of this, "the inclusion of Kazakhstan and Kirgiz in maps of the Russian empire marked a great step forward in the history of these people." (Pu-luo-huo-luo-fu: "On the Sino-Soviet Border Question," p 139) Moreover, "as far as the destiny of the different peoples in Caucasia and the central Asia was concerned, their incorporation within the economically and culturally advanced nation of Russia was a very fortuitous event." ("An Outline of Russian History," edited by Nuo-suo-fu [6179 4792 1133] and published by Leningrad section of the Soviet Scientific Press, vol 1, p 218, 1972 second edition)

Even more absurd is the idea that the fortifications built by the Russian aggressors to extend their control and repress the local people "provided the conditions for the economic development of the surrounding areas." (Gullevich: "The Qing Empire's Invasion of Central Asia and Russian Policy in the Second Half of the 18th Century") Such gangster logic is typical of colonial aggressors, and ultimately is nothing more than a defense of czarist Russia's plundering of central Asia's rich natural resources, vast territory and cheap labor.

One of the main reasons for the invasion of central Asia was the need for central Asian cotton to supply Russia's rising textile industry." (Luo-ji-tuo-fu-ji-ji) [5012 2448 2094 1113 2248 1015]: "Russia and Asia," "Peter the Great, Chapter 2," published 1933 in New York) Especially after the reform of the serf system in 1861, Russian capitalism developed steadily and it was the textile industry which grew the fastest, creating an ever increasing demand for cotton. The plunder of central Asia's cheap raw cotton, therefore, gave impetus to Russia's stepped up aggression in central Asia. Another important factor was the urgent need for the emergent capitalist class to open up new markets. Owing to the fact that Russia's economic development lagged far behind the West's and her products were unable to compete with those of the Western nations, it was imperative that Russia be able to develop the large central Asian market. As early as 1856, General Bollalau-bie-er-ge [0514 2139 2139 1191 0446 1422 2706] of czarist Russia's general staff office stated that, "The future of Russia does not lie in Europe. We should turn our attention toward Asia. It is essential that the factories and handicrafts workshops which consume our raw materials should be able to find a new outlet for their products. Because of competition the European market is closed to the products of Russian factories and workshops, we must turn to the vast territories of the Asian countries in order to sell our own products." (Ka-er-fen [0807 1422 5358]: "The Merging of Central Asia with Russia," p 87, published by in 1965) The planting of large areas of land in central Asia with cotton made this originally self-sufficient region dependent on Russian imports and turned the area into a market for Russian metal and textile products as well as grain, sugar and wood.

In addition to this, Russia also used immigrants to seize large tracts of land. As Lenin said, "The history of Russia's autocratic system is a history of the plunder of places, provinces and nations' territories." ("Complete Works of Lenin," "The Democratic Socialist Party's Land Program During the First Revolution from 1905-1907," vol 13, p 311) After the reform of the serf system in 1861, approximately 20 percent of Russian land was in the hands of landlords. In order to pacify the discontented peasants who had lost their land the czarist government moved many of them into central Asia. For example, in 1893, czarist Russia sent over 200,000 immigrants into Kazakhstan, and by 1914 Russian immigrants had occupied 41 million acres of land in the area. The result of this was that not only were large tracts of cultivable land occupied but also that the region's cattle breeding was seriously damaged by the destruction of the local pasture rotation system.

Commercial capital was also extremely active in central Asia; Russians made large sums of money out of currency exchange at exorbitant rates and other speculative activities. Moreover, the people of central Asia were subjected to bloodsucking exploitation in the form of exorbitant taxes and levies and onerous corvee duties.

The "promotion of development" argument is not only a distortion of historical facts, it is also reactionary and entirely absurd theoretically. The argument starts by denying that the central Asian people could have ever been able to develop and progress by relying on their own strength, and emphasizes the necessity of relying on conquest by outsiders.

This argument disguises the (extremely reactionary and backward) nature of czarist Russia's colonial rules over central Asia. England at that time was far more advanced than Russia, but what did the English colonial rule in India do for the Indians? As Marx noted, "Because the British were the first conquerors to have a higher level of development than the Indians, Indian culture was unable to influence them. They destroyed the local communities, wrecked local industries and eradicated everything that was outstanding or exceptional in local society, and in so doing, managed to wipe out the Indian culture. Aside from destruction, the history of British rule in India is perhaps devoid of any other achievement." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," "The Future Results of British Rule in India," vol 5, p 247) On the other hand, Marx also examined India's future prospects and affirmed that from a revolutionary dialectical point of view the establishment of a postal and telegraph system as well as railways by English colonialists helped to provide the material preconditions for India's future revolution. However, he also emphasized that "whatever the English capitalist may be forced to do in India it will neither bring freedom to the masses nor fundamentally improve their social conditions; this is because such changes are not determined solely by the development of the productive force but are also determined by whether or not the productive force belongs to the people." (ibid, p 250) What possible reason can there be for believing that Russia's colonial rule in central Asia, which was even more reactionary and backward than England's in India, could have possibly benefited the people of central Asia more than British rule did the Indians? As Lenin suggested, "In the border regions of Russia one can see that Russia's oppressed minorities often enjoy a relatively large amount of freedom in neighbouring countries. The czarist government is even more reactionary than neighbouring countries and does all it can to promote greater Russian nationalism. In fact, this government is the main obstacle in the way of economic development." ("Complete Works of Lenin," "The Democratic Socialist Party's Land Program During the First Revolution From 1905-1907," vol 19, p 548)

The various fallacies promoted by Soviet historians cannot help but remind us of the deeds and acts of today's ruling clique in the Soviet Union. If one looks at Soviet hegemonism today, are not the invasion of Afghanistan and other aggressive activities all committed under the banner of "preventing" the invasion of other nations, the local people's "wishes" and "the promotion of development?" It is for this reason that the exposure of these fallacies is in reality, also the exposure of the Soviet Union's hegemonism.

HUANG HUA ENDS SENEGAL VISIT; DEPARTS FOR GHANA

Senegal Departure Comments

OWO31841 Beijing XINHUA in English 1831 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Dakar, December 3 (XINHUA) -- Chinese Vice Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua today concluded a four-day visit to Senegal.

At a news conference before departing for Ghana, Huang said: "Broad prospects have emerged for economic cooperation between China and Senegal." Both countries desire further consultation and cooperation, he said. China and Senegal, he explained, are developing countries facing common problems. Therefore, they should exchange experience in developing their national economies, he added.

Attends Dinner in Ghana

OWO40728 Beijing XINHUA in English 0714 GMT 4 Dec 81

[Text] Accra, December 3 (XINHUA) -- Chinese Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Huang Hua told Ghanaian Foreign Minister I.K. Chinebuah today that the Chinese Government and people will always share weal and woe with the African countries and people and march forward shoulder to shoulder with them.

At a dinner given by the Ghanaian foreign minister, Huang Hua added the Chinese Government unswervingly adheres to the foreign policy formulated by Chairman Mao Zedong and Premier Zhou Enlai in supporting the countries and people of Africa.

Huang Hua had served for five years as China's first ambassador to Ghana in the early 1960s and is now on the last leg of his African tour. He said the struggle carried out by the African and other Third World countries to attain economic independence, reform the old irrational international economic relationship and establish a new international economic order is a continuation of the national independence movement in the 1950s and 1960s. It is a new phase in the development of the movement and an irresistible trend of the times, he added.

Earlier during talks with Chinebuah, Huang Hua expressed support for the peoples of Namibia and South Africa in their struggle for national liberation.

He hoped that the Third World countries would co-ordinate their actions to cope with the threats of the two superpowers. He said that the international situation today is tense and intranquil, and the source of intranquillity is the contention between the Soviet Union and the United States.

Chinebuah said at the dinner that it is the determination of Africa that the year 1982 should be the target date for Namibia to achieve full independence on the basis of U.N. Resolution 435 without any modification or dilution. Azania's independence should surely follow almost immediately afterwards, he added.

Chinebuah praised China for using its diplomatic leverage in the U.N. to promote progressive causes and for supporting Africa's struggle for freedom and independence. He said Huang Hua's visit to Ghana would not only strengthen the bonds of friendship between the two countries but also lead to closer cooperation in an ever widening spectrum of human endeavour.

DEPUTIES, OTHERS DISCUSS ZHAO REPORT TO NPC

OW032121 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1452 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 3 Dec (XINHUA) -- On the afternoon of 1 December and on the morning of 2 December, deputies to the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC read Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the work of government and Finance Minister Wang Bingqian's report on the final state accounts for 1980 and on the implementation of the financial estimates for 1981.

Deputies held panel discussions on the two reports on the afternoon of 2 December and again on 3 December.

The budget committee held a meeting this afternoon to discuss the final accounts for 1980 and the financial estimates for 1981. The office of the committee to examine motions has received 90 motions from the deputies since the opening of the NPC session.

The Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC will continue its panel discussions tomorrow.

The Fourth Session of the Fifth CPPCC also held panel discussions on the two reports yesterday and today.

Praise, Criticism

OW031702 Beijing XINHUA in English 1521 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, December 3 (XINHUA) -- The vice-mayor of the north China port city of Tianjin said that he felt encouraged by Premier Zhao Ziyang's government work report, but a Hong Kong banker thought not enough was said of tapping intellectual resources.

During group sessions discussing Zhao Ziyang's report, deputies to the National People's Congress and members of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference voiced their support, criticisms and suggestions.

Sitting in the Sichuan group, Premier Zhao Ziyang, also a deputy, listened carefully and noted down criticisms and suggestions.

The premier's report is no run-of-the-mill stuff, said Wang Guangying, vice-mayor of Tianjin and member of the C.P.P.C.C. National Committee. It is a convincing summation of years of experience plus a scientific analysis. "It is inspiring," said the 62-year-old vice-mayor.

The near balance between revenue and expenditure and the reduction of the financial deficit from 17,000 million yuan in 1979 to 2,700 million yuan represent a remarkable feat, said the noted economist Xu Dixin. "But arduous work has to be done to consolidate the gains," he said. Xu Dixin was particularly interested in the increase in urban and rural bank savings by 9,500 million yuan between January and October. "This is a strong indication of the people's confidence in the government," he noted. Strenuous efforts should be made to expand production, increase economic returns and reduce enterprises' losses so that revenue would grow year by year, Xu Dixin said.

Zhang Binggui, a model shop assistant of Beijing's biggest department store and a member of the N.P.C. Standing Committee, said that the premier has given a penetrating and factual analysis of the country's economic situation. Things are really inspiring, he said. "From my counter, I saw how people's purse has grown fatter. We have more goods in stock and our business is flourishing. We receive over 100,000 customers a day during weekdays and double the number on holidays" he said.

Fei Yi-ming, director of the Hong Kong newspaper TA KUNG PAO, described Premier Zhao Ziyang's report as "comprehensive and systematic," in which "theory and practice are well matched." The report listed the drawbacks and unfavorable conditions as well as the achievements and favorable conditions. "This shows his full confidence in the people," Fei Yi-ming stated.

Zhuang Shih-ping, chairman of the board of directors of Hong Kong's Nanyang commercial bank, predicted that the ten principles enunciated by Premier Zhao Ziyang will stimulate the national economy and raise the people's living standards.

But he remarks that more should be said of the development of intellectual resources which, he stated, is of vital and lasting importance. He expressed the hope that the central authorities should pay more attention to this problem.

Democratic League Discussions

OW031803 Beijing XINHUA in English 1558 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, December 3 (XINHUA) -- Members of the China Democratic League have called for reforming China's labor management system and shattering the "iron rice bowl" and the practice of "all sharing food from the same pot."

During the past two days' panel discussions on Premier Zhao Ziyang's report to the current National People's Congress, members of the China Democratic League have voiced their support and called the government's attention to some important problems.

Guan Mengjue, a 69-year-old economist and professor of economics at Jilin University, said that in readjusting enterprises, it was necessary to establish a responsibility system for their leading bodies. He said good leaders should be rewarded while lax and irresponsible ones should be punished by wage reduction, or dismissal, or even by law. "Only thus can the workers be encouraged to run their enterprises well," he said.

Noted economist Qian Jiaju, adviser to the academy of social sciences, said that if a factory had no right to dismiss its workers, there would be no work discipline. "Under the existing system," he said, "once a worker is employed, he can not be dismissed in any case. This is the so-called 'iron bowl,' or 'all sharing food from the same pot.' It lowers productivity and constitutes an obstacle to modernization. We must reform the labor management system."

He said that China's service trades were far from adequate, yet a large number of young people were jobless. In Beijing alone, the number of unemployment runs to over 200,000. Statistics show that if the present proportion of service trade workers on the entire payroll is restored to that in 1952, an additional 230,000 people will be needed. "Why not make the two ends meet?" he asked.

Support From PLA Leaders

OW031518 Beijing XINHUA in English 1504 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, December 3 (XINHUA) -- Deputies from the Chinese People's Liberation Army attending the current session of the National People's Congress have declared their support to Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the government's work.

Yang Dezhi, chief of the P.L.A. General Staff, said that the premier's report is an important document guiding China's economic construction and its analysis and assessment of the current economic situation tallies with the actual conditions.

The excellent situation in economic construction, he said, is a convincing proof of the correctness of the policies of the Communist Party.

He said that the ten principles for economic construction elaborated by the premier embodied many of Comrade Mao Zedong's brilliant ideas.

The premier called on the People's Liberation Army to sharpen its sense of preparedness against war and strengthen military and political training so as to make new contributions to the consolidation of national defence and protecting socialist construction, he noted.

"This is the duty of our army which we pledge to fulfil," he declared.

Speaking of this year's slash in defence spending, Yang Dezhi said that the army had supported the government's economic readjustment programme by using the limited funds most effectively to fulfil its tasks.

The chief of the General Staff stressed: "We are building a modern revolutionary army. The goal is clear, so is our strategical principle. We will do the work well."

Wei Guoqing, director of the General Political Department of the People's Liberation Army, said Premier Zhao Ziyang had made an "excellent" report. "I am for it," he said.

He noted that the report summed up the experience and lessons in economic work in the past 32 years, enunciated ten principles for future economic construction, made an objective analysis of the favorable conditions and existing difficulties and set forth the measures to overcome these difficulties.

Wei Guoqing recalled the decision made by the Communist Party Central Committee last year to take further steps to readjust the economy. "Facts in the past year show that the decision is correct," he said.

He drew attention to the all-round good harvest in agriculture, the 12 percent output increase in the light industry and the big drop in financial deficit. "This is no easy job. It would not have been possible but for the leadership of the Communist Party and the superior socialist system," he said.

The two P.L.A. leaders made their statements at panel meetings held by P.L.A. deputies yesterday and today to discuss the reports made by Premier Zhao Ziyang and Minister of Finance Wang Bingqian.

Among the other speakers at the two days' panel discussions were Xu Shiyu and Chen Xilian, standing members of the Military Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Yang Yong, deputy chief of the General Staff, and Gan Weihan, deputy director of the P.L.A. General Political Department. They all supported the premier's report.

PLA'S WANG PING ON WORK AT MILITARY ENTERPRISES

HK031218 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Nov 81 p 4

[Report by reporter Wang Zheng [3769 2398] and correspondent Shuai Hongyao [1596 1347 5069]: "We Carry Out Division of Work Between Party and Government for the Sake of Strengthening Party Leadership, Says Wang Ping at Conference on Political and Ideological Work in Military Supplies Enterprises"]

[Text] Wang Ping, political commissar of the PLA General Logistics Department, delivered a speech entitled "Strengthen and Improve Party Leadership in Order To Reform the System of Leadership in Enterprises Step by Step" at the conference on political and ideological work in military supplies enterprises held in Beijing on 23 November.

In his speech, he pointed out that the division of work between the party and the government is a pressing issue in the political life of our country. It is an important link in the work of reforming and perfecting the system of leadership in the party and state as well as a matter of primary importance in reforming the system of leadership in the enterprises and in strengthening and improving party leadership over the enterprises.

Wang Ping said since the downfall of the "gang of four," we have clarified the leftist mistakes in the guiding ideology in economic work and opened up a new road for the development of the national economy. This represents a fundamental change in our policy of economic construction. We have encountered numerous problems in the course of bringing about change. These problems mainly stem from the fact that the present systems of leadership and management in our enterprises are still far from perfect. Our major longstanding problem is one of making no distinction between the party and the government and substituting the party for the government. Socialist enterprises are economic organizations with relative independence. In the activities of production in an enterprise, the actions of hundreds and thousands of people must be subordinated to the unified command of the person who directs production. These people must strictly observe labor discipline and the responsibility systems and no one is allowed to act on his own. This requires that we institute a highly authoritative system of administrative management and production command with the factory director as the center. The factory director is the principal responsible person in enterprise administration. He assumes full responsibility for production and construction work in the whole factory. From the factory director down to the responsible administrative staff at all levels, each should be entrusted with the responsibility and authority that goes with their post. There must be a clear division of work between the party committee and the administrative body of an enterprise because this is the key to improving the strengthening party leadership. The party committee and the administration should be two separate teams and should not work in the same office if conditions permit. As a general rule, the party committee secretaries should not concurrently hold leading administrative posts and leading party cadres in charge of administrative work should not get too involved in the affairs of the party committees.

Wang Ping emphasized that the party's political leadership over the enterprises means general leadership. It requires that we implement the party's line, principles and policies, organize the masses to run the enterprises as masters and support them in doing this, correctly understand and coordinate the relationship between the interests of the state, the collective and the individual and see to it that the enterprises keep to the socialist orientation. It requires us to correctly handle and coordinate the relations between the party, the government, the trade union and the CYL and to give full scope to the role of various organizations. It also requires us to fully bring the exemplary role of party members into play. To achieve these goals, a lot of publicity, ideological and organizational work has to be done. The party committee of an enterprise must concentrate its energy on grasping political and ideological work. The political and ideological work of an enterprise should be centered on production. Every enterprise must take increasing production as the point of departure for, and the underlying objective of, its political and ideological work, overcome all formalistic things and strengthen the aim, timeliness, militancy and effectiveness of its political and ideological work. The party committee of an enterprise must also pay attention to grasping the building of its own party organization and thoroughly change the state of affairs in which the party does not mind its own business. At present, we must resolutely rectify the unhealthy practices in the leading bodies. Provided that we enhance party spirit, strengthen the sense of political responsibility of communists and refrain from practicing evil things, this can be easily done.

Wang Ping said that party supplies enterprises have had the fine tradition of domestic management all along. The most essential aspect of party leadership over the enterprises is to effectively and steadily delegate the power of enterprise management to the masses of staff and workers. The system of workers congresses is a good form of managing the enterprises by democratic means.

However, without the correct leadership of the party, without the party's correct line, principles and policies and without solid and strong political and ideological work, democratic management is bound to follow the wrong track of bourgeois liberalization and anarchy. In the end, democratic management might even be weakened, destroyed and negated.

Wang Ping also said when the party committee of an enterprise does not directly run production and administrative affairs, it does not mean that it no longer takes an interest in production. In handling major questions of administration and production, the party committee of an enterprise should earnestly carry out discussion in accordance with the stipulations of the party's principles and policies, make its decisions and then let the factory director or the departments concerned organize the actual implementation. If it is discovered that the enterprise is not living up to the requirements of the party's principles and policies in its management approach, orientation of production, use of funds, distribution of labor power, issuance of bonuses, sale of products and so on, the party committee should help the departments concerned rectify their mistakes on the basis of properly carrying out ideological work.

PLA'S SUPPORT-GOVERNMENT, CHERISH-PEOPLE CIRCULAR

OWO40113 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0152 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 3 Dec (XINHUA) -- The PLA General Political Department recently issued a circular on launching activities to support the government and cherish the people during the 1982 new year and spring festival season. The circular asks all PLA units to continue in-depth study and implementation of the guidelines of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and the 4th Session of the 5th NPC, carry forward the fine tradition of supporting the government and cherishing the people and further strengthen the great unity between the army, the government and the people during the new year.

The circular asks all army units to seriously study the important instructions on strengthening army-government, army-people unity issued by leading comrades of the CCP Central Committee and its Military Commission and conduct education on the army's purpose and its three main rules of discipline and eight points for attention during the holiday season. Party committees of army units at and above regimental level should study and adopt measures to support the government and cherish the people and assign personnel to supervise such activities. Grassroots units should examine the progress in implementing the support-the-government and cherish-the-people pledge. They should commend and give awards to the advanced collectives and individuals in supporting the government and cherishing the people. Units processing necessary conditions may organize report groups composed of representatives of the advanced collectives and individuals to tour the units and report their experience on supporting the government and cherishing the people.

The circular points out: Principal leading comrades of various units should personally consult and study with leading comrades of local party organs and governments questions affecting army-government, army-people unity. Work groups should be dispatched to straighten things out in units where policy and discipline have been seriously violated. All army units should dispatch mass discipline inspection groups to check on the implementation of policy and observation of discipline in the units, to listen to the views of the local government and people and to seriously study all problems to find ways for their proper resolution. Army units stationed in border areas, islands, minority nationality regions, forest districts and special economic zones should conduct checkups on the implementation of relevant policies governing these respective areas and take immediate steps to resolve problems discovered.

The circular says all army units should take a leading role and set an example for the masses in building the socialist spiritual civilization. Units stationed in cities should actively take part in the local activities to clean and beautify the environment. They should help promote public welfare and perform good deeds for the people.

All army units should proceed from realities and take local conditions into consideration in drawing up plans for taking part in the socialist construction. They should actively take part in afforestation labor in a planned way and do several things that will greatly and directly benefit the local people.

Units stationed in the countryside should improve their methods of support to suit the new situation arising in the rural areas. They should help the local people -- particularly martyrs' and military families, families enjoying the five guarantees and other families having material difficulties -- improve production.

The circular points out: During the holiday season army units, together with local party and government organs and the people, may hold joint soirees, forums and meetings of representatives of advanced units in supporting the government and cherishing the people and in supporting the army and giving preferential treatment to families of revolutionary army men and martyrs to exchange experiences, increase understanding and strengthen unity. Theatrical groups should perform for the local people. Army units may also organize comfort teams to go to selected old revolutionary bases, disaster areas and areas where army units conducted exercises, training and construction work to comfort and learn from the local people. All holiday activities should be held thriftily. Extravagance and waste are strictly forbidden.

FOOD MINISTRY DEMANDS STOP TO PANIC GRAIN BUYING

OW030957 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Text] According to a report by ZHONGGUO CAIMAO BAO [CHINA FINANCE AND TRADE NEWS], in an urgent circular issued on 19 November the Ministry of Food called on all provincial, municipal and autonomous regional food departments and bureaus to take immediate action to stop the panic purchase of grain that has been caused by rumors in some cities and towns.

The urgent circular says recently rumors, such as that "the grain ration coupon will be abolished and there will no longer be any grain sold at ration price in the future," have been circulating in some cities and towns. Therefore, some people who do not know the truth are rushing to stand in ration lines to buy grain. At the same time food departments in some cities and towns have presumptuously discontinued the grain stores' practice of keeping the ration grain for local residents. Some of them have even issued notices urging people to buy all their rations, which are kept in the grain stores, before a prescribed date and warning that ration coupons will become invalid after that date. They have thus created a tense atmosphere and caused dissatisfaction and bad impressions among the people.

The urgent circular points out: It is a comparatively long-term policy of our country to ration grain and edible oil at low prices. The aforesaid panic purchasing is detrimental to political stability, our economic readjustment and the normal operation of food departments. All localities should pay sufficient attention to the matter and take resolute and appropriate actions to stop panic purchasing.

ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE ON GRAIN PRICES RUMOR

HK040627 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1515 GMT 3 Dec 81

[ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE reporter's commentary: "Where Does the Rumor of a Coming Increase in China's Grain Prices Come From?"]

[Text] Beijing, 3 Dec (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE) -- In his report on government work delivered to the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC, Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out that, since the beginning of this year, "while China has achieved a near balance between financial revenue and expenditure, market prices have remained basically stable" and "the prices of daily necessities have been stable."

When talking about the chief tasks for next year's economic development, he pointed out that "it is necessary to consolidate the stable economic achievements, continue to maintain a near balance between revenue and expenditure and between credit receipts and payment, maintain a basic stability of prices and strive to raise the economic effects so that the rate of development of the national economy will be a little higher next year than it is this year." After hearing Premier Zhao's report, the delegates to the NPC attending the session were greatly inspired and were filled with confidence for the four modernizations drive of the motherland.

Just at this moment, however, a rumor has come from abroad, saying that "there will be an increase in China's grain prices," and even making a great show of being earnest by concluding that the extent of the price rise will be "30 percent" and that it will occur in January next year. This cannot but draw people's attention.

China's fundamental goal in building socialism is to meet the increasing material and cultural needs of the people step by step. All people have noticed that the new China has, since its founding, essentially eliminated the miserable condition in old China characterized by the devaluation of the currency, soaring prices, the dire poverty of the masses, with bodies of the starved strewn everywhere. Owing to various unavoidable reasons, there were indeed some increases in the prices of some commodities, but the prices of the daily necessities are basically stable. The prices of commodity grains supplied by the state in particular have never been raised. It is for this reason that, although the living standard of the Chinese people is not high at present, the people basically dress well and eat their fill. With the development of production in the past few years, the people's livelihood has been more markedly improved.

The basic reason for the stability in the prices of China's grains and other daily necessities lies in the fact that China follows a policy of subsidizing farm produce. That is to say, the state appropriates a large amount of money from the financial revenue to subsidize both farm produce and the differences between the purchase and selling prices in order to maintain stable prices for the farm produce. To increase the peasants' income, the state raised the purchase prices for farm produce and sideline products last year, and on this subsidy alone, the state expended 16.8 billion yuan. After raising the prices of farm produce and sideline products, the state subsidized each worker and staff member five yuan a month lest the livelihood of the workers and staff members in the cities be adversely affected.

China's agriculture has registered an all-round increase this year, and the situation is gratifying. This reporter has learned from a great many speeches made by the delegates to the NPC that each peasant household has a surplus of grain now and that the negotiated prices of grains in the country fairs have not risen but have gone down slightly.

These are living facts which should not have been necessary to explain to such a great degree and which all who look the Chinese reality in the face will be able to understand. As to the slight increase in the prices of farm produce and sideline products, such as vegetables, in some areas of our country, the government is taking positive measures to solve this. We believe that this question can be solved well.

CIRCULAR STRESSES SOCIALIST ETHICS IN MARRIAGE

OW030914 Beijing XINHUA in English 0828 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, December 3 (XINHUA) -- The importance of socialist ethics in marriage and family life is stressed in a circular issued recently jointly by the Supreme People's Court, the Ministry of Justice, the Ministry of Civil Affairs and the national organizations of trade unions, youth and women.

The circular attacks fickleness in love and the shirking of responsibility in supporting parents or children. It calls for greater publicity on socialist morality.

Young people, the circular says, should understand that they should be loyal to their spouses. In future, the people's courts will deal more strictly with divorce cases resulting from fickleness. Attention is also put on the article in the new marriage law which stipulates that parents have the duty to rear and educate their children and children have the duty to support and assist their parents.

The circular calls for commendation campaign to cite families in which there are good relations between husband and wife and mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, so that the traditional Chinese virtue of respect for the aged and loving care of the young is continued.

The circular reiterates the marriage law's protection of freedom of marriage without interference by parents or any third party.

Extravagance in wedding ceremonies is criticized in the circular which urges young people to favor simple ceremonies and celebrations.

AFP REPORTS JESUITS ARRESTED IN SHANGHAI

OWO21223 Paris AFP in English 1148 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Text] Hong Kong, 2 Dec (AFP) -- Chinese police have arrested all Jesuits in the southern Chinese city of Shanghai -- estimated at 11 though one or two may have been away -- and 10 other Roman Catholics including priests, reports here said.

All the Jesuits were aged over 60, had spent at least 20 years in prisons or labour camps, and were paroled from indefinite sentences in the period of liberalisation about three years ago, the reports said.

Lay people among the arrested were associated with Jesuits or other priests, and three were related to Jesuits.

Chinese Roman Catholics have been reported under increasing pressure since Pope John Paul last June appointed the Jesuit Deng Yiming (Dominic Tang), 73, who had spent 22 years in prison before coming here last year, as archbishop of Guangzhou.

However, one analyst here linked the latest reports of arrests in Shanghai and possibly elsewhere with a general crackdown on Chinese dissidents of all kinds -- writers and artists as well as religious non-conformists -- having contacts with foreigners.

According to the series of fragmentary reports to Catholic sources here, three Jesuits, a diocesan priest and four lay persons were apprehended in Shanghai on November 19, and the remainder the same day or shortly afterwards.

The second group arrested included one or two more priests and several more lay persons.

The most widely known of those reported under arrest was the Reverend Zhu Hongshen, 65, a Jesuit with many foreign contacts. Police told him that he was charged with communicating false reports to foreigners and with implementing orders from the Vatican, witnesses at his arrest were quoted as saying. The Rev. Zhu has been quoted by foreign and Chinese visitors as saying he was being watched and occasionally harassed by security agents.

Reliable sources added here today that they had also received reports of arrests of Roman Catholics in Zhejiang and three other provinces.

However, because of the remoteness of these areas, these reports were even more difficult to confirm, and were therefore considered less reliable.

In Guangzhou, Bishop Ye Yinyun of the national Catholic church, which rejects ties with Rome, accused priests from Hong Kong of visiting his diocese "to spread rumors and disrupt the work of the Chinese Catholic church."

Bishop Ye said he had been appointed to Guangzhou in September after the national church rejected Pope John Paul's appointment of the Jesuit Deng Yiming (Dominic Tang) as archbishop for the same diocese.

Bishop Ye said there was an "underground" Roman Catholic group that remained in opposition to the national church, which was established with Communist Party and government recognition in 1957.

But these Roman Catholics were now few and unimportant, he added.

RENMIN RIBAO ON COAL MINE CONSTRUCTION

HK040203 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 30 Nov 81 p 2

[Editorial: "Shorten the Period of Coal Mine Construction"]

[Text] There are two ways of speeding up the construction of the coal industry: one is by increasing investment and expanding the scale of construction. The other is by shortening the construction period and improving investment results. Recently, relying on expanding the scale of construction to increase coal production capacity has had certain constraints. We should use every means to shorten the period of coal mine construction and realize investment benefit without delay. This is the most important as well as the most practical way of speeding up the construction of the coal industry.

Because of differing lengths in construction period, economic results are not always the same. Based on the scale of a 100 million-ton mine, if the average construction period, from the commencement of work to the time it starts production, is shortened from 6-1/2 years to 6 years, its production capacity can be increased by 1.3 million tons a year; if the period is shortened to 5 years, its production capacity can be increased by 4.6 million tons a year. This means that for any given project, the shortening of the construction period will increase production capacity and save money. If a large-scale mine can be completed a year ahead of schedule, the saving in auxiliary workshop service fees and construction management fees alone will amount to 5 million yuan. On the other hand, the delay of a year will cost 5 million yuan more. There is a wide gap in the difference between early and late and between saving and spending.

After 30 years of construction, our coal industry has already accumulated a fund of experience in shortening construction periods, raising efficiency, saving money and producing faster results. At present, we are not only able to design and construct medium and small-scale mines, but are also able to design and construct large-scale mines. The recently completed 3 million-ton Xinglongzhuang pit only took 6-1/2 years to build. Shortening the period of coal mine construction is not only necessary but also feasible.

Shortening the period of coal mine construction is determined by a variety of factors, and it is necessary for all sectors to make a concerted effort. Coal mine construction is an extremely cumbersome engineering project. It requires the organization of many work arms and many parallel and overlapping operations in work procedures. It cannot be successfully carried out without a high degree of responsibility and art of command.

Leading members engaged in the work of coal mine construction at all levels must have the courage to shoulder responsibility and to take charge of work. They must set the pace by going to the frontline to direct production and to places where difficulties are greater and problems more numerous for investigation and study and to supervise work and carry out inspection. The state has an urgent need for coal, and we definitely must have the lofty ambition of completing mines ahead of schedule. Otherwise, we will never have peace of mind.

In order to shorten the construction period, we must properly reorganize the enterprises. In many of the enterprises, the management system is not strict, responsibilities are not clearly defined, quotas are not correct, discipline is slack, waste is serious and costs are not taken into account. Therefore, we must strengthen the reorganization of enterprises, improve management and administration, set up various economic responsibility systems, revise labor quotas, strengthen labor discipline, raise labor efficiency, improve engineering quality and lower construction costs. At the same time, we must properly reorganize the capital construction ranks, strengthen the training of workers and improve the political quality and technical quality of the workers. We must strengthen ideological education over those who have been absent from work for a long time, who engage in fights and brawls and who do not observe labor discipline. As for the handful of people who refuse to mend their ways despite repeated warnings, they must be disciplined.

We must smash the old conventions in coal mine construction. What we must do in particular at present is to conscientiously reform the former method of waiting from the excavation of the mine shaft until the completion of the coal mine and putting both into operation at the same time, and to carry out construction by stages and go into production by stages. We must adhere to the policy of integrating the large, medium and small-scale coal mines and constructing more medium and small-scale mines. Generally speaking, medium and small-scale mines requires less investment, have a shorter construction period and produce faster results. Under the present situation of urgent need for coal in our country and the limited amount of available financial and material resources, mining areas with suitable conditions must quickly construct a number of medium and small-scale coal mines. At the same time, we must pay attention to the proper solving of external cooperation conditions and closely coordinate with railroad transportation, power, communications and land purchasing departments as well as other service trades. Local party committees and local governments must energetically give their support. Only in this way can the period of coal mine construction be shortened.

SU ZHEWEN COMMENTS ON ATOMIC ENERGY DEVELOPMENT

OWO30935 Tokyo KYODO in English 0006 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, Dec 3 (KYODO) -- A Chinese official has said China will not depend on atomic energy during this century, according to a visiting Japanese official here.

Kunio Komatsu, director general of Japan's Agency of Natural Resources and Energy, quoted Su Zheven, Chinese vice minister of power industry, as saying so.

Su told Komatsu that China will undertake atomic power projects at only a limited scale in littoral regions.

China is preparing construction of atomic power plants in Guangdong Province and in Shanghai.

MEETING ON NORTH CHINA WATER CONSERVATION

OWO32145 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0700 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Shenyang, 3 Dec (XINHUA) -- The most practical and effective way to resolve water shortages in China's cities is to broaden the water resources and reduce water consumption. The emphasis, however, should be placed on reducing water consumption. This is the policy established at a recent meeting on water consumption in 15 north China cities held in Dalian municipality.

The meeting was jointly sponsored by the State Capital Construction Commission, State Economic Commission and State Administration of Urban Construction. It was attended by responsible comrades of 15 cities in China's north, northeast and northwest which are experiencing water shortages. The meeting exchanged and summed up the experience of water conservation in Dalian, Beijing, Qingdao, Tianjin and other cities.

Materials supplied by the meeting show that cities in north China are suffering from acute water shortages due to lack of adequate water resources. According to statistics, Beijing, Tianjin, Shenyang, Dalian, Handan, Qingdao, Xian, Urumqi and seven other large and medium-sized cities are short of over 3 million dun of water daily. The water shortage has thus become a sharp problem affecting the development of the national economy and the people's daily needs. But in many cities suffering from water shortage, waste of water is very serious. This is why there is great potential for water conservation. The meeting points out that in addition to increasing water supply capacity, extensive activities to conserve water are an effective way to resolve current water shortages in cities.

The meeting emphatically points out all municipal, provincial, regional and city governments should regard urban water consumption work as an important item in their agenda and seriously strengthen their leadership. Capital construction commissions, economic commissions and urban construction departments at all levels should closely coordinate and cooperate with planning, water conservancy and finance departments in resolving the question of water shortage in cities.

GUANGMING RIBAO ON DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP

HK040851 Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 22 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Song Shitang [1345 1102 1016]: "On the Formation of the Concept of People's Democratic Dictatorship"]

[Text] The concept of a people's democratic dictatorship forms an important part of Mao Zedong Thought. It was not until our party, Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms had conducted a lengthy study and paid a heavy price that this great historic truth was discovered. The essay "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," by using the proletarian view of the universe as the "tool for observing the fate of the nation" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" vol 4, p 1476), expounded and uncovered this truth in an historical and systematic way, thus bringing about this glorious ideological achievement.

Marxism was the guide which led us to discover this historical truth and the weapon which helped us shape the concept of a people's democratic dictatorship. It took over half a century of extreme hardships and difficulties for the Chinese to discover the universal truth that is Marxism-Leninism. In practicing Marxism-Leninism, Chinese communists adapted Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions in China, thus Sinicizing and transforming it into Mao Zedong Thought. A heavy price had similarly to be paid and a tortuous and bumpy path fraught with difficulties and hardships had similarly to be taken. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The vanguard of the Chinese proletariat learned Marxism-Leninism after the October Revolution and founded the CCP. It entered at once into political struggles and went through a tortuous path" ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong" vol 4, p 1477); this path "was not gone through in peace, but amid hardships, for we had to fight enemies, both domestic and foreign, both inside and outside the party." (ibid, p 1474) The discovery and shaping of the concept of a people's democratic dictatorship reflected concisely the whole course of the democratic revolutionary path taken by the party, Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms, during which they waged a fierce battle against enemies and carried out a stern struggle against rightist and leftist tendencies inside the party. Our party helped Dr. Sun Yat-sen to reorganize the KMT, and then to carry out the great revolution. There was marching in the east and fighting in the north, all on a grand and spectacular scale.

However, just when the great revolution was advancing along the path of victory, imperialism joined forces with the big landlord class and sought to sabotage the great revolution by means of plots and schemes. At this crucial point in time, there emerged from inside the party the rightist capitulationism of Chen Duxiu. They failed to understand China's national condition and the characteristics of the revolution. They failed to understand the differences between the new democratic revolution and the old. They failed to understand the importance of the leadership of the working class in the united front, and had thus abandoned their leadership over the workers' and peasants' armed forces. In the end, they caused the great revolution to suffer a tragic and serious defeat in the face of the enemy's surprise attack. In theory and in practice, they waged a struggle against rightist capitulationism. This was to greatly influence the party and Comrade Mao Zedong in their later shaping of the concept of a people's democratic dictatorship. What had an even greater influence on the shaping of the concept of a people's democratic dictatorship was the struggle against adventurism and open-doorism. After the failure of the great revolution, the party, Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms battled on relentlessly, once more aroused the masses, organized armed uprisings and carried out the agrarian revolution. However, with the successful development of the revolution, leftist errors were once again committed by the party. They once again failed to understand the Chinese national condition and the characteristics of and the laws governing the Chinese revolution. They merely knew how to copy from the experience of the Russian Revolution, "thinking that only what the Bible says is correct." They disregarded the actual conditions prevailing in China and the changing circumstances. They blurred the distinction between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution, lumping together the word "antibourgeois" with the words "anti-imperial" and "antifeudal," and even adopting an overleftist policy toward the petite bourgeoisie and its intellectuals. Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms waged a struggle against such leftist errors. Afterwards, Comrade Mao Zedong used his Marxist view of the universe to profoundly point out: "In order to attack the forces of the counterrevolution, what the revolutionary forces need today is to organize millions upon millions of the masses and move a mighty revolutionary army into action.... Therefore, united-front tactics are the only Marxist-Leninist tactics. The tactics of closed-doorism are, on the contrary, the tactics of the regal isolationist." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 1, p 150)

At an enlarged CCP work committee in January 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "During the democratic revolution, it was only by comparing our two sets of victory and defeat that we came to know the objective world of China." That is to say, by the time of and during the war of resistance against Japan, our party had already clearly recognized the characteristics of and the revolutionary laws governing modern China and had already integrated Marxism-Leninism with Chinese revolutionary practice. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that "the characteristics of China are that it is not independent and democratic, but semicolonial and semifeudal, that internally it has no democracy but is under feudal oppression and that, in its external relations, it has no national independence, but is oppressed by imperialism." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 2, p 530) Imperialism, feudalism and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie were the three great enemies of the Chinese revolution and were "exceptionally powerful." Though the nature of the Chinese revolution was admittedly that of a bourgeois democratic revolution, "it is history's verdict that this democratic revolution is a task that can be completed, not under the leadership of the bourgeoisie, but only under that of the proletariat." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 1, p 253)

Because of the political and economic weakness of the Chinese bourgeoisie, it possessed a dichotomic tendency toward both revolution and compromise. Although the working class in China did not number that many, it was highly concentrated, well-organized and well-disciplined, impartial, farsighted and filled with revolutionary spirit. As soon as it entered the political arena, it enjoyed the leadership of its own political party -- the CCP -- and had in the broad peasant masses its greatest ally. Over 80 percent of the population of China are peasants. "So the peasant problem becomes the basic problem of the Chinese revolution and the strength of the peasants is the main strength of the Chinese revolution." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 2, p 685) China's revolutionary war was essentially a peasants' war under the leadership of the proletariat and we had to take the revolutionary line of encircling and capturing the cities from the villages. The leadership of the proletariat was the key to the success of the Chinese revolution. The proletariat had only to become the trusted allies of the peasants to be able to safeguard the leadership of the revolution, provided they could become the trusted allies of the urban petite bourgeoisie. In this way, no matter how "exceptionally powerful" the enemies of the Chinese revolution might have been, as long as they could "arouse the masses," ensure that the proletarian leadership was based on a peasant-worker alliance, was unified with the petite bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie and organized into an enormous and powerful revolutionary army, they would be able to achieve the optimum isolation of the enemies, deal hefty blows on them, gradually achieve national victory and establish a new China. After achieving national victory, what sort of political power and system was to be set up in the new China? In May 1939, the party and Comrade Mao Zedong, in drawing up a preliminary blueprint, pointed out: "What is the goal of this revolution? to overthrow imperialism and feudalism and to establish a people's democratic republic,...to establish a people's democratic system." (ibid, p 551) Again, in April 1945, Mao pointed out: "We propose the establishment of a state system that is a united-front democratic alliance based on the overwhelming majority of the people, under the leadership of the working class." "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," vol 3, p 1056)

From this we can see that it was during the war of resistance against Japan that the concept of the people's democratic dictatorship of the party and of Comrade Mao Zedong reached its maturity. Its content and theoretical system assumed a preliminary form. The concept of a "people's democracy" had already begun to be used. One article said that the concept of a "people's democracy" was first used by the intelligence bureau of the communist and workers' parties in 1947. This does not accord with historical fact. By the time of the war of liberation, the party and Comrade Mao Zedong had further developed the concept of the people's democratic dictatorship and had taken it to the point of perfection. In his essay "Carry the Revolution Through to the End," which was published in late 1948, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: after the three great enemies had been toppled, "we must, on a countrywide scale, set up a republic that is a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat and with the worker-peasant alliance as its main body." "Selected works of Mao Zedong," vol 4, p 1380) On the eve of national victory, he expounded in detail the glorious concept of the "people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the proletariat and with the worker-peasant alliance as its base" in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh CCP Central Committee and his "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship." The founding of the PRC on 1 October 1949 signified that this glorious concept had been transformed into a great, living reality.

Practice is the only criterion for judging truth. Truly scientific truth can stand the test of practice and is irrefutable. Since the summation and shaping of the ideological theory of the people's democratic dictatorship, our party has, in reliance upon this "main experience" and "main program," not only set up the great PRC that is a people's democratic dictatorship, but also enabled it to tread an extraordinary and glorious battle path of more than 30 years. On the path of progress, no matter how bumpy, tortuous or fraught with difficulties the PRC that is a people's democratic dictatorship has never been toppled or destroyed. Despite untold hardship and countless vicissitudes, it continues to occupy its monumental position in the East. We must unwaveringly adhere to the concept and system of the people's democratic dictatorship and enable it to play an even greater role in building China into a prosperous and strong, highly democratic and highly civilized, modern socialist country during the new historical period.

CHINESE, WESTERN MEDICAL INTEGRATION SOUGHT

HK031223 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 29 Nov 81 p 3

[Commentator's article: "Uphold the Policy of Integrating Traditional Chinese Medicine and Western Medicine"]

[Text] Recently, the Chinese Society for the Study of the Integration of Traditional Chinese Medicine and Western Medicine was formally set up. It will further promote the development of the cause of integrating traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine in China.

Under the guidance of the party's policy on traditional Chinese medicine and the policy of integrating traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine, great achievements have been made in integrating traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine. Throughout the country already more than 40,000 doctors trained in Western medicine have studied traditional Chinese medicine, and about 4,000 of them are specialists, scholars and professors with a very high level of education. Most of them have persisted in integrating traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine in clinical work, scientific experiments and teaching, and they have made contributions to the cause of integrating traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine. The 10 years of turmoil and the influence of leftist errors over the years led to the appearance of some unrealistic slogans in the work of integrating traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine and some formalist things were practiced. By means of summing up experiences after the smashing of the "gang of four," these tendencies have either been corrected or are being corrected. We cannot negate the correct orientation of integrating traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine because of certain shortcomings and mistakes in concrete work.

Some of the comrades think that the integration of traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine is a nondescript hodge-podge. What they actually mean is that the integration of traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine will neither be as good as traditional Chinese medicine nor as good as Western medicine. This kind of viewpoint is one-sided. Both traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine have their strong points as well as shortcomings. The integration of traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine is precisely for the sake of enabling them to learn from each other, help one to make up for what the other lacks, exchange experiences and develop a new kind of medicine unique to our country. More than two decades of practice has confirmed that some of the doctors who integrated traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine and used this method to treat certain acute abdominal diseases, bone injuries, cardiac and cerebral angiopathy cases, acute influenza and intestinal disorders, have generally obtained better results in curative effect and process of treatment than either traditional Chinese medicine or Western medicine. Some have even made new developments in medical theory and medical concepts. These facts have explained that the proper integration of traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine is definitely better than the exclusive use of either traditional Chinese medicine or Western medicine. These achievements in medical research have been publicly acknowledged by most of the comrades in our medical and health circles, and some have also won praises from international medical circles. We should be proud of this and should not erroneously belittle it.

For the sake of developing medical and health undertakings in China, the Ministry of Health in March last year put forward a policy for the long-term coexistence of the forces of traditional Chinese medicine, Western medicine, and called for their simultaneous development. We hope that these three forces will strengthen unity, learn from each other, respect each other, treat the others as equals, learn the strong points of the others to offset their own weaknesses and raise their standards together. In addition to diligently studying modern medical knowledge, those engaged in the work of integrating traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine must also actively and conscientiously study the theory and clinical experience of traditional Chinese medicine. For if they do not believe in traditional Chinese medicine, or if they think that traditional Chinese medicine is not scientific and there is nothing to be learned from it, then the integration of traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine is basically out of the question.

The work of integrating traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine is an arduous undertaking. The leading health administration departments must put this work on their agenda and give it enthusiastic support. At present, we already have a contingent which has integrated traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine, and this is our foundation for developing the cause of integrating traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine. This contingent must still be strengthened and expanded. At present, we must pay particular attention to organizing the existing forces and solving the problem of studying but not applying, or applying but not in an appropriate manner and not properly bringing their role into play. The leading health administration departments must also conscientiously study and solve such concrete problems as funds, equipment and base areas required for integrating traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine. Otherwise, upholding the policy of integrating traditional Chinese medicine and Western medicine may become just an empty phrase.

WRITER YAO XUEYING ON FOUR BASIC PRINCIPLES

HK250918 Beijing GONGREN RIBAO in Chinese 16 Nov 81 p 4

[Article by Yao Zueyin [1202 7185 0995]: "Adherence to the Four Basic Principles and Success in Literary and Art Creation -- A Conversation on Creativity With Some Workers Who Are Amateur Writers"]

[Text] In recent years, we have accomplished much in the field of literature and art. The course we have been taking is basically a sound one, although, unfortunately, some people have preferred to take divergent paths. This has recently made it necessary to place emphasis on criticism and self-criticism on the literary and art front and on urging the strict adherence to the four basic principles. As a result, this has led to misunderstanding on the part of some people. They think that another campaign is on the way. Some have even expressed the view that hereafter it will be difficult to do any writing or have their work published. Regarding this problem, I believe that we should look at it from two aspects. First, no campaign is on the way and, second, criticism and self-criticism must be advocated. These two aspects are not mutually conflicting. By saying that no campaign is on the way, I mean that there will be no large-scale campaign in which its promoters, wielding a big stick, will relentlessly attack other people, even on the most flimsy pretext. How do I know that no campaign is forthcoming? First, we must have faith in the central authorities and believe what they repeatedly have announced that, in regard to ideological problems, no campaign will be carried out at random. Second, over the years there has been, objectively speaking, an accumulation of many problems, which now require us to do some work in a down-to-earth manner. To carry out any more campaigns is against the wishes of the people and is not in keeping with the national interests. I, myself, have suffered much from past campaigns. In 1957, I was wrongly accused of being a "rightist." Afterwards, I was called a "capless rightist," a "reactionary authority," and a "monster and demon." The suffering I have gone through in spirit is indeed beyond the imagination of many young people. If any campaign is to be launched now, it is likely I would be the foremost target. However, today I have the utmost confidence and I believe that in my lifetime there will be no more campaigns like those in the past. On the other hand, criticism and self-criticism are entirely different in nature from the staging of a campaign. They are more or less commonplace occurrences. That we are now afraid of criticism and self-criticism only shows that, since the smashing of the "gang of four," we have become lax in criticism and self-criticism work while emphasizing emancipation of the mind. As a matter of fact, socialist democracy and criticism and self-criticism are just two different expressions of one concept. Neither can be discarded.

On hearing that we must insist on the four basic principles and must advocate criticism and self-criticism, some people have come to the conclusion that hereafter no more articles can be written, that there can be no more creative works and that there will be nothing to write on. Is this the right way to look at the problem? In my opinion, this is not the correct way. The purpose of our advocating criticism and self-criticism and adherence to the four basic principles is to upgrade the quality of our literary and art creations. Why should we phrase it this way? The problem is clear enough. If we wish to make socialist literary and art creations flourish, we must carry forward and develop the fine tradition of revolutionary literature and art creations developed since the May 4th movement of 1919 and detach ourselves from the influence of the decadent literary and art thinking of the capitalist class. Only by insisting on adherence to the four basic principles and on the promotion of criticism and self-criticism can we ensure the smooth development of literature and art. And only in this way can we enable our literary and art workers to take bold steps forward and turn out even better and more glorious creations. Is not this reasoning simple enough?

The reasons for the confused thinking on the part of certain people are rather diverse. Some people are basically confused in their thinking, while some have harbored incorrect objectives for their creations. Moreover, we have raised the standard required in the quality of the creations.

Naturally, this discourages the publication of works of a low standard and of literary works which violate the principle of realism. Writers who are serious in their attitude and who obey the principle of revolutionary realism in writing do not believe that criticism and self-criticism are harmful. Actually, they really welcome it. Besides, the four basic principles only point to the main guiding direction. Following this direction, those literary and art workers who are promising and capable should have sufficient room to employ their talents. Under this main guiding thought, there are many topics for works, such as realistic topics, historical topics -- in fact endless topics for any amount of writing. Only the lazy writers find it difficult to find topics to write on. And only those people who pursue the literary and art topics suited to the tastes of the capitalist class will find that they are without literary freedom. Such a lack of freedom is indeed not worth our regretting. Take my own case for example. It was only under the party's guidance and the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought that it was possible for me to turn out a novel like "Li Zicheng." Without the party's guidance and without the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought I could not have accomplished anything. Hence, the four basic principles, by no means, hinder the creativeness of our literary and art workers. On the contrary, it is only under the guidance of the four basic principles that our literary and art talent can develop in an even healthier manner and can our literary and art workers produce even better works. Only in this way can the literature and art of our country be of a higher level than the decadent literature and art of the capitalist class.

In reality, from the historical viewpoint, accomplished writers in any era all had their aesthetic standards. It is never possible for these aesthetic standards to be entirely divorced from their class interests and class political thought. Was not Qu Yuan a well-known poet? Was not Du Fu likewise an accomplished poet? Would it have been possible for them to surmount their social and political conditions and degree of consciousness? Certainly not!

Qu Yuan was devotedly loyal to the State of Chu. He wanted the State of Chu to become a powerful state, and not to be taken over by the State of Qin. As a matter of fact, his wishes, or demands, were in line with the moral code and political code of the time. Similarly, Du Fu had his own code of standards. He criticized the irrational state of affairs of the political regime at his time. But he was entirely loyal to the feudal regime of the Tang Dynasty. This was also true of other writers and scholars. To demand complete freedom for a writer, where he is at liberty to write anything he can imagine, is not possible. Writers represent the different demands of different classes. Some of the demands are healthy ones; some are not. The "code" of a revolutionary people and of a revolutionary class is progressive, revolutionary and in conformity with the interests of the great majority of people. Today, our's is a socialist country and we certainly have our own demands. The four basic principles constitute our demands. They are in conformity with the interests of our 1 billion people. It is perfectly all right to call them a set "code," they may even be called a great "code," an advanced "code" and a revolutionary "code." If you wish now to break the "code" and write on something damaging to the four modernizations, or things that are unhealthy, it will certainly be forbidden. We wish to build a socialist spiritual civilization and hence cannot allow the propagation of writings of a low standard, or the "yellow" type or superstitious type or reactionary ideologies. If, on account of this, you unfortunately feel that you are not free, then it cannot be helped. There is only relative freedom and no absolute freedom. Freedom has never been something abstract. It is a manifestation of certain definite social interests. If freedom causes you to violate the interests of 1 billion people, why should you lament its loss?

Generally speaking, it is possible to attribute an inability to produce good works to an insufficient understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, or to failure to plunge deep into the thick of life, or to the lack of real accomplishment in literature and art. It cannot be due to criticism or self-criticism, and far less to the four basic principles. If you fail to devote the utmost efforts to tackling the basic problems, how can you become a writer of promise and one who can make worthy contributions? What should be the direction of our efforts? As has already been stated over many years, we should live a good life, possess a relatively high ideological level, and have a relatively advanced degree of artistic attainment, otherwise it will be difficult to produce good works.

HONGQI DISCUSSES STRENGTHENING PARTY UNITY

HK251218 Beijing HONGQI in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 81 pp 2-5

[Article by HONGQI Editorial Department: "Dispel Misunderstandings and Strengthen Unity" -- capitalized passages published in boldface]

[Text] At present, our party has a powerful contingent of cadres. This contingent is our people's guide and director in building a socialist material civilization and a socialist spiritual civilization. We may also say that it is our people's organizer and inspirer in thoroughly emancipating ourselves. This contingent of ours is a fine one. However, there is still a rather conspicuous problem existing in this contingent. A portion of cadres are not quite closely and firmly united. In some places, misunderstandings among cadres are still numerous, serious and acute.

What was the cause of these misunderstandings? We must first do some historical analysis. We should settle the account of these misunderstandings among cadres under the influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" and should never affix the responsibility to our comrades themselves. It was Lin Biao and the "gang of four" who damaged our party's work style, confused our ideology and sowed discord among our cadres.

If misunderstandings exist among our cadres and if our cadres are not sufficiently united, our party will not have fighting strength. Misunderstandings among cadres are corrosive agents loosening the organization and are stumbling blocks preventing us from fulfilling the four modernizations with one heart and soul. To put this in stronger terms, if these misunderstandings are not dispelled, people with ulterior motives will use them to their advantage. Our comrades must pay attention to this and guard against this. We should understand the harm and danger of disunity among cadres, find a positive solution to dispel misunderstandings and strengthen unity.

Dispelling misunderstandings existing among cadres mainly depends on raising our consciousness. There are eight points concerning this problem that are worthy of our attention:

1. CADRES WHO HAVE WRONGLY CRITICIZED OR STRUGGLED AGAINST OUR COMRADES OR WRONGLY DETERMINED THE NATURE OF THEIR CASES SHOULD PROMPTLY TAKE REMEDIAL ACTIONS SUCH AS REDRESSING THE CASES AND REVERSING THE VERDICTS DEPENDING ON EACH SPECIFIC CASE. Comrades who did not participate in this criticism and struggle should enthusiastically agree to this policy. Comrades who participated in this criticism and struggle, especially comrades who conducted this criticism and struggle, should all the more agree to this policy. Whether we use the term redressing a case or reversing a verdict is not important. What is important is to make a satisfactory conclusion of the investigation. If a person was wrongly criticized and the nature of his case was wrongly determined but he has shortcomings and mistakes in other respects, what must we do? His shortcomings and mistakes are another question. If he was wrongly criticized and struggled against, we should redress his case. If the nature of his case was wrongly determined, we should reverse the verdict. As for his mistakes in other respects, we can educate him and criticize him. Will it be all right if we do not redress his case, do not reverse the verdict and do not make a satisfactory conclusion of the investigation? No. If you do not handle his case properly this year, you have to do so next year. If you do not solve the problem when you are here, someone else will come to solve it in a year or two. An early solution is better than a late one. Solving the problem yourself is better than leaving the problem for others to solve. We must do a good job in this respect. It will never do to wrong a good comrade or to pin a political label on others at will. It is a feudal practice to divide ourselves into factions. This is not the practice of the Communist Party. Comrade Mao Zedong consistently advocated a policy for cadres which was condensed into three words: fair and upright. Being fair and upright is our party's basic requirement and fine tradition. But this fine tradition was damaged during the "Great Cultural Revolution." Of course, unhealthy phenomena have also appeared in certain periods before the "Great Cultural Revolution." Persisting in being fair and upright toward cadres' problems is a concrete manifestation of resolutely implementing the line and policy of the third plenary session.

2. IF WE WERE WRONGLY CRITICIZED AND STRUGGLED AGAINST OR IF THE NATURE OF OUR OWN CASES WAS WRONGLY DETERMINED, WE SHOULD NOT BROOD ON WHAT HAPPENED AFTER OUR CASES WERE REDRESSED AND THE VERDICTS REVERSED. WE SHOULD NOT KEEP PICKING ON OUR COMRADES WHO ONCE CRITICIZED AND STRUGGLED AGAINST US, MUCH LESS SHOULD WE SET EXCESSIVE DEMANDS ON THE ORGANIZATION. Comrades who were wrongly criticized and struggled against should think over and be thoroughly clear about three questions: First, why was I criticized and struggled against? Second, did I also wrongly criticize others? In the past 10 years or so, the overwhelming majority of us "have been wrongly criticized by others but have also wrongly criticized others." During the "Great Cultural Revolution," these were common occurrences. Third, we must make it clear that if we keep picking on others and if we set excessive demands on the organization, are we acting in conformity with the party's interests, the people's interests and the spirit of the sixth plenary session? If we are clear about these three questions, the problem will be easily solved. In 1933, Lu Xun wrote a poem entitled "To the Trident Pagoda" in which there were two lines: "After surviving a catastrophe, a smile we exchanged drowned all our previous grudges." How should we treat each other after we have experienced the turmoil of the "Great Cultural Revolution"? Should we abuse each other or should we display the communist style and manner? Since we are communists and party cadres, we should have the broadmindedness of the proletariat. We should put the party's interests above everything else and personal feelings should be discarded.

3. CADRES WHO ACTUALLY HAVE DIFFICULTIES IN WORKING IN THEIR ORIGINAL LOCALITIES OR UNITS SHOULD NOT BE ASKED TO WORK THERE. THEY THEMSELVES SHOULD NOT REQUEST TO STAY OR TO BE SENT THERE. A revolutionary makes his home wherever he is. If it is inconvenient for him to work at a certain place, he should be transferred to another. This is called making revolution in a new place. This will be convenient for all people concerned. Facts have proved that after some comrades have been transferred to other places, they work very well. We should not be swayed by our feelings in making revolution. If we insist on staying at a certain place and refuse to work somewhere else, we are not right. Making revolution is different from playing games. We should have a correct attitude in accepting work assigned us by the party organization and should not be swayed by our personal feelings.

4. IF FOR VARIOUS REASONS, SOME COMRADES ARE ACTUALLY INCOMPETENT IN THEIR PRESENT WORK AND MANY OTHER COMRADES ARE COMPLAINING ABOUT THIS, WE SHOULD ASSIGN THEM OTHER WORK AFTER FULLY PREPARING THEM IDEOLOGICALLY. Comrades who are assigned new work should gladly go to their new posts. This includes some comrades who were promoted in the past few years to positions too high for them and who need to make up missed lessons. This is not the first time in our party's history that comrades need to make up missed lessons. During the difficult period in 1962, many ministers of the Central Committee were transferred to work as secretaries of the prefectural CCP committees or the county CCP committees. At present, some cadres have also been transferred to lower levels. Comrades Wang Chonglun, vice chairman of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, has voluntarily gone to work as deputy secretary of the Harbin Municipal CCP Committee. There he is in charge of bean curd production and of improving the livelihood of the masses. He is doing his work pretty well. There is no harm in making up missed lessons! It is good for us to change our work from time to time. We can sometimes take up leadership work and sometimes work under others' leadership. Some comrades said to those who would have to change their work, "The work assigned you is not suited for you. You must insist on not taking it up!" They were not acting according to the party's principle. They were more of a hindrance than a help.

5. EACH COMRADE SHOULD ASSESS HIMSELF ACCORDING TO THE METHOD OF ONE DIVIDING INTO TWO. HE SHOULD BE AWARE OF HIS CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE, BUT HE SHOULD ALSO BE AWARE OF HIS WEAK POINTS. We should never think that the party owes us a favor. At no time will it be possible for the party to owe us a favor. It will only be possible for us to owe the party a favor. In "How To Be a Good Communist," Comrade Liu Shaoqi already clearly explained this matter.

We hope that each party member will see that he is correct in some respects but that he has also made mistakes. A revolutionary is bound to make mistakes of this kind or that in his life. Among revolutionary comrades some may have made more serious mistakes, while others may have made less serious ones. Some comrades' mistakes may have lasted longer while others' may have lasted a shorter time. Some comrades may have realized their mistakes sooner while others may have realized theirs later. Nevertheless, we have all made mistakes. We should see our strong points as well as our weak ones. We should see what is correct in ourselves, but we should also be aware that beneath the surface of correctness is often hidden pride and conceitedness. Therefore, we should link revolutionary vigor with modesty and prudence. It is imperative for us to have both revolutionary vigor and modesty and prudence.

6. ALL OUR COMRADES, ESPECIALLY PARTY MEMBERS AND CADRES, MUST WORK FOR THE PARTY AND THE PEOPLE UNRESERVEDLY AND WHOLEHEARTEDLY. Within our party, no special members are allowed. Unless one is sick or is unable to work, it is not correct for one to require the party to give one preferential treatment before accepting an assignment. This problem was already made very clear by Comrade Liu Shaoqi in his "How To Be a Good Communist." He said that even if the assignment was not appropriate, one should obey it unconditionally. Recently this viewpoint has been specially emphasized by the comrades in the central authorities. We must judge our cadres through their political behavior and see whether they are implementing the line of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. Since the third plenary session, four plenary sessions have been held by the CCP Central Committee. If one did not act as required by the Central Committee and did things only according to one's own feelings during the period of the first three plenary sessions, and if this mistake can still be forgiven, then after the sixth plenary session, it will be a serious matter if one persists in such mistakes. Now it should be an important and chief standard to judge our cadres to see whether they are acting in line with the party's line and doing their jobs actively. Whether they are doing their work well must not be judged by themselves only but be judged by practice. The resolution adopted by the sixth plenary session evaluated Comrade Mao Zedong's great contributions and pointed out his mistakes as well. After this plenary session, it is our turn to examine ourselves. All comrades within our party must be ready to stand this historical test and be examined by the majority of inner-party comrades and the people.

7. ALL COMRADES SHOULD TAKE A CLEAR-CUT, PRINCIPLED STAND ON MAJOR ISSUES OF PRINCIPLES. In his speech at the meeting to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Communists should take a clear-cut stand on questions of principle and should uphold truth. Every party member should uphold the party spirit and be unequivocal in his position on questions of right and wrong which involve the interests of the party and the people and should show clearly what he is for and what he is against. The rotten and vulgar practice of trying to be on good terms with everybody at the expense of principle is incompatible with the proletarian character of our party." At the forum on ideological work, the central authorities pointed out that a rather typical phenomenon at present was the weakness and laxness of the leadership in our ideological work. As a result, it has become hard to make or to hear criticism, and even harder to make self-criticism. Now there are three main unhealthy tendencies among our cadres: building houses by practicing egalitarianism and indiscriminately transferring commune members' properties, getting jobs for their children by taking advantage of relations and giving dinners or sending gifts in order to curry favor. Party committees at various levels should take resolute measures to check these unhealthy tendencies which exist, to a differing extent, among a large number of our cadres throughout the country. If they are not checked, the masses will not be satisfied. We must develop the party's fine tradition of taking good care of our cadres. In this connection, Comrade Mao Zedong gave an excellent exposition in his article "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War."

He said: "There are several ways of taking good care of cadres: first, give them guidance. This means allowing them a free hand in their work so that they have the courage to assume responsibility and, at the same time, giving them timely instructions so that, guided by the party's political line, they are able to make full use of their initiative. Second, raise their level. This means educating them by giving them the opportunity to study so that they can enhance their theoretical understanding and their working ability. Third, check up on their work and help them sum up their experience, carry forward their achievements and correct their mistakes. To assign work without checking up and to take notice only when serious mistakes are made -- that is not the way to take care of cadres. Fourth, in general, use the method of persuasion with cadres who have made mistakes and help them correct their mistakes. The method of struggle should be confined to those who make serious mistakes and nevertheless refuse to accept guidance. Here patience is essential. It is wrong to lightly label people 'opportunists' or to lightly begin 'waging struggles' against them. Fifth, help them with their difficulties. When cadres are in difficulty as a result of illness, straitened means or domestic or other troubles, we must be sure to give them as much care as possible. This is how to take good care of cadres." Comrade Mao Zedong clearly told us dozens of years ago how to take good care of cadres and pointed out that waiting until serious mistakes are made before helping them is not the way to take care of cadres.

It is quite necessary for us to study again and put into practice the five ways of taking good care of cadres put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong.

8. BOTH OLD AND NEW CADRES MUST BE UNITED AND ACT IN CLOSE COORDINATION. Over the past 3 years, the comrades in the central authorities have always said that the great majority of the old cadres had, generally speaking, made great contributions to the party, and that we must take good care of them and show concern for them. Moreover, some new measures will be taken by the central authorities in this respect to ensure that the great number of retired cadres, or old cadres who leave office temporarily to rest and recuperate, will live a happy life in their later years. Their political and material life will be guaranteed, which will not be worse, but better, than the cadres at their posts. Old cadres must boldly take on the historical responsibility of selecting and training young cadres. They are expected to help train and promote to more important posts those young cadres who resolutely implement the party's line, work hard and are not afraid of difficulties, and who are ambitious and well versed in scientific and cultural knowledge. In the early years of the Tang Dynasty, there was a writer, Wang Bo by name, who wrote two verses in one of his pieces of prose "Introduction to Teng Wang Pavilion," which are still familiar to us. The first line is: "Being more vigorous though old, my heart would never die." The second is: "Being more strong-willed though poor, I would never be demoralized." We are revolutionaries, so we must work with all our hearts to bring benefit to the people and the coming generations rather than merely calculating for the interests of a small minority of people or for ourselves and our families, which are far too paltry when compared with the interests of the state. It is true that we are poor. Our country is poor, our land is poor, and the income of our people is not high. But do not forget to "be more strong-willed though poor!" A man may be poor, yet he must never be demoralized. It is too paltry if one only calculates for oneself and is out for petty gains. Although we are poor, we must "never be demoralized." Instead, we must have high aspirations to build our country into a powerful modern socialist country, and furthermore, to build communism. In order to attain this glorious goal, it is necessary that our old cadres do a good job in helping the young cadres and educating their own children.

If these eight points are carried out and concerted efforts are made, no matter how deep and serious the misunderstandings are, they can certainly be cleared up one after another, and our cadres will be more united and march forward hand in hand to the great goal of the four modernizations. We are sure that if our ranks of cadres become more closely united and more militant, and the spirit of the old man who removed the mountains is further developed, a miracle will be created on our vast land after 10 to 20 years of hard struggle, a miracle which we have been longing for day and night over the past decades, that is, the emergence of a powerful, prosperous and happy new socialist China.

HONGQI ON LEADERSHIP ISSUE IN COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

HK020615 Beijing HONGQI in Chinese No 22, 16 Nov 81 pp 32-34

[Article by Yin Chengshan [1438 6134 0810]: "How Should Deviations on the Question of Leaders in the International Communist Movement Be Understood and What Is Their Negative Impact on Our Party?"]

[Text] It was noted in the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC: "In the communist movement, leaders play quite an important role. This has been borne out by history time and again and leaves no room for doubt. However, certain grievous deviations, which occurred in the history of the international communist movement owing to the failure to handle the relationship between the party and its leaders correctly, had an adverse effect on our party, too." What were the grievous deviations which had an adverse effect on our party? This was a question raised by many comrades when studying the resolution.

The CCP is the product of an integration of Marxism-Leninism with the Chinese workers' movement. It was born under the influence and with the help of the international communist movement. The revolutionary cause led by our party received assistance from the revolutionary forces of many countries; it was an integral part of the international communist movement. Thus, all the fine traditions inherent in the international communist movement have played a positive role in the construction and development of our party. However, the grievous deviations, which occurred in the international communist movement owing to the failure to properly handle the relationship between the party and its leaders, indeed had an adverse effect on our party. What we mean by grievous deviations here were mainly personality cult, the system of lifelong tenure of office for leaders and the excessive concentration of powers.

In the communist movement, the historical materialism founded by Marx and Engels clarified the position of the masses and the individual leaders in the creation of history, thus providing a scientific basis in theory for correctly handling the relationship between the party and its leaders. Marx and Engels not only made contributions by their theories, but they also set themselves up as practical examples for correctly handling this question. When Marx found that people were eulogizing his virtues and achievements, he flatly expressed that "this is very abominable." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," vol 32, p 638) Engels also stopped the socialists of various countries many times from holding activities to celebrate his birthday. He said: "I have always abhorred this sort of occasion." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels" vol 38, p 231) Marx and Engels have truly achieved the unity of theory and practice, thus setting themselves up as examples for their generation in the international communist movement.

After Marx and Engels, in leading the work of the Russian Bolshevik Party, Lenin also made great contributions both in theory and practice to correctly handling the relationship between the party and its leaders. Lenin first put forward the system of democratic centralism within the party; and this has fundamentally solved the problem concerning the organizational principle of the party. On the eve of the victorious October Revolution, and when writing "The State and Revolution," Lenin also considered how to solve the problem regarding the appointment and removal of state personnel after the realization of the proletarian revolution. However, after the October Revolution, a civil war broke out during the first half of 1918. The Russian landlords and bourgeoisie staged an armed rebellion. They colluded with a dozen capitalist countries which coordinated an armed intervention, vainly attempting to strangle the newborn Soviet regime in the cradle. In such circumstances, it was literally impossible for the above-mentioned vision of Lenin to be realized. On the contrary, in order to win a military victory and defend the Soviet regime, the Bolshevik Party further emphasized a high degree of centralism under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In addition, during the period, there appeared in the international communist movement the renegade actions of opportunist leaders like Kautsky and Bauer of the Second International; and the leftist ideological tendency began to run rampant within the communist parties of some countries. This left Lenin with no time to consider the question in this respect. At that time, an outstanding feature of the leftist ideological tendency was belittling and negating the role played by the leaders of the proletarian political party. They set the leaders up as being completely antagonistic to the party and the masses, vainly attempted to strike down the genuine Marxist leaders under cover of the slogans "Down with the leaders" and "Bring forth new leaders who talk nonsense." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 4, p 199) This ideological tendency was very harmful during that time. Thus, in his "'Left-Wing' Communism -- an Infantile Disorder," Lenin profoundly clarified the interrelationships of the leaders, the political party, classes and the masses and correctly pointed out: The proletarian party "will not merit the name until it learns to weld the leaders into one indivisible whole with the class and the masses." ("Selected Works of Lenin," vol 4, p 206) Lenin's exposition played a positive role in the international communist movement. It was correct and necessary. Lenin's exposition was aimed mainly at the various fallacies of the leftist ideological tendency. Therefore, it greatly emphasized the aspect of the unanimity of the leaders and the party as a collective and the masses as well as the need to uphold the "absolute centralization and rigorous discipline of the proletariat." (Ibid, p 181) However, it did not give a theoretical explanation of the other aspect regarding bringing democracy into play within the party and strengthening supervision by the masses. The proletarian leaders have undoubtedly played a significant role in the communist movement in mobilizing and organizing the masses. Nevertheless, they must always place themselves in the midst of the party members and the masses and accept the supervision of the party members and the masses. They must never break away from the masses.

Stalin, Lenin's successor, violated in his later years the basic principles of historical materialism in handling the relationship between the leaders and the party. He wrongly and inappropriately exaggerated his own role and placed himself in an antagonistic position toward collective leadership. Stalin's mistakes began with his accepting and encouraging his personality cult, which reached a peak during his later years. The prevalence of the trend of personality cult quickened the progress of Stalin's violation of the principle of collective leadership and the system of democratic centralism. At the same time, it also consolidated his position of lifelong tenure in office as leader of the party and state. Stalin also practiced centralized leadership in the international communist movement. For a very long period of time, the relationship between the Third International, which was practically led by Stalin, and the parties of various countries reached a state where it directly interfered in the internal politics of the parties of various countries and also wrote off or superseded the autonomous powers of those parties. The parties of various countries basically had to obey the decisions and command of the international regarding their programs, lines, significant personnel changes as well as significant plans for action. Later, Stalin also pushed forward the big nation chauvinism among the various countries of the so-called socialist camp and even interfered in the internal politics of some countries.

The reason that we point out Stalin's serious deviations in handling the relationship between the leaders and the party is that we want to draw lessons from them and eliminate their negative influence upon our party. We do not have the slightest intention of negating the great meritorious achievements and outstanding contributions. As a matter of fact, the CCP received the leadership and support of the Third International as soon as it was established, and the Third International made great contributions to the Chinese revolution. The seventh enlarged plenary session of the Communist International in November 1926 in fact listed the Chinese question as the central subject for discussion. From then on, Stalin also put forth many correct views regarding the Chinese revolution.

Since the day of its establishment, the Chinese party has always trusted and respected Stalin, the Bolshevik Party and the Communist International. It was precisely because we believed so very firmly in Stalin that we did not discover in a timely way the deviations of the Soviet communists in handling the relationship between the leaders and the party and their negative influence upon our party. Stalin also had some wrong ideas when guiding the Chinese revolution. However, our party always shouldered the responsibility for them and never shifted the responsibility to Stalin. Thus, for many years we did not seriously guard against some negative influence from the Communist International on the question of leaders. After the death of Stalin, we began to realize his problems. Nevertheless, there emerged in the Soviet Union the Khrushchev renegade clique. Under the pretext of the so-called "opposing the personality cult," they completely negated Stalin. Though our party made the necessary criticism against Stalin's personality cult, we also had to properly affirm and protect Stalin. This inevitably affected our summing up experiences and drawing lessons from Stalin's mistakes. We thereby did not conduct a penetrating theoretical inquiry into the problems of the personality cult, the lifelong tenure of office of our leaders and the excessive centralization of power and failed to conduct a comprehensive examination of and reforms in our practical work. This was indeed a lesson.

The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was a great turning point of far-reaching significance in the history of our party. Our party began to seriously correct in a comprehensive way the leftist mistakes made during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution." It has first of all released the cadres and masses from the spiritual shackles of the personality cult and the "two whatever's" which were prevalent in the past, and restored and developed the fine traditions in organizational principles which were shaped by our party since the Zunyi meeting and reiterated at the eighth party congress. Collective leadership and the system of democratic centralism have been restored, and democracy within the party and people's democracy have been carried forward. At the same time, the present lifelong tenure of office of leaders has been abolished and the problem of people occupying too many offices at the same time has been solved. In addition, the CCP Central Committee has emphasized the principle that neither democracy nor centralism should be overemphasized at the expense of the other and the principle that it is necessary both to uphold the prestige of proletarian leaders and to oppose personality cult. To achieve this, it has issued a special instruction on "not publicizing much about individuals." In short, since the Third Plenary Session of the CCP Central Committee, and on the basis of seriously summing up historical lessons, our party has done a lot of work both in theory and in practice in order to correctly handle the relationship between the leaders and the party and eliminate its negative influence. It has therefore enhanced day by day its prestige among the masses, and the work of the party and state have flourished every day.

ANHUI OFFICIAL DENIES COMMODITY PRICE HIKE RUMOR

OW041041 Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Text] In his interview with an ANHUI RIBAO reporter on 1 December, a responsible person of the provincial commodity price commission said: After the State Council decided to readjust the prices of polyester cotton goods, cigarettes and wine, speculation on price hikes for grain, edible oil, cotton cloth and pork has been spread in some localities. This is pure rumor.

The responsible person of the provincial commodity price commission said: It has been a constant belief of our party and government that the prices for daily necessities of the people should remain basically stable in order to put the people at ease and improve their livelihood. The prices of grain, oil, cotton cloth and pork, which are the essentials in the people's livelihood, require much tighter control. In his government work report at the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC, Comrade Zhao Ziyang reemphasized that commodity prices in the market should be kept basically stable.

Our province reaped an all-round bumper harvest in agricultural production this year, with the output of grain and oil-bearing crops exceeding previous peaks. Now vegetable oil is being supplied at state fixed price and at fixed quantities according to plan. On top of that, (?medium-priced oil) is being sold to the public. The situation is encouraging.

The responsible person of the provincial commodity price commission hoped that the numerous cadres and masses would ignore rumors and raise their vigilance against bad elements who spread rumors to confuse the people's minds.

DAZHONG RIBAO ON RELATIONSHIP OF ART, POLITICS

HK020823 Jinan DAZHONG RIBAO in Chinese 13 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Chen Baoyun [7115 1405 0061] on "Literature and Art Commentary" column: "We Should Compose the Most Powerful Voice of the Era -- Also Commenting on the Absurd Expression 'The Further Removed Literature and Art Creation Is From Politics, the Better'"]

[Text] Recently, the expression "the further removed literature and art creation is from politics, the better" has been popular in the literary and art circles. At present, it also finds some support among a few authors, and after the criticism of some works, some comrades feel more keenly that this expression is justified. As a matter of fact, it is not difficult to discover the absurdities of this expression if we make a serious analysis of it.

First, whether a literary work is good or bad cannot be judged according to the distance it is removed from politics. We cannot say that the further removed a literary work is from politics, the better, and that the closer it is to politics, the worse. In fact, a great many works, particularly those which cause strong repercussions among the masses, are closely linked with politics. "The Internationale," for example, was written on the day following the failure of the Paris Commune. However, being a song of the proletarians, it is immortal. Take the opera "Where It Is Silent" for example. The reason why it can cause such strong repercussions among the people of the whole country does not lie in its being divorced from politics, but in the fact that it reflected in literary form in a timely way the "April fifth" movement, a great political struggle opposed to the "gang of four," and it voiced the inspirations of the people. Take Gao Xiaosheng's short story "The Water Flows East" for another example. Also an excellent work producing quite a strong impact, it is different from "Where It Is Silent" in that it does not directly reflect major political struggles but portrays new changes in the peasants' ideology and new contradictions and disputes in their families after they become well-off.

But through the peasants' new financial status and the changes in the peasants' mental outlook, we can profoundly realize the tremendous might of the party's rural policies adopted since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. This work is, therefore, also very closely linked with politics. Examples like these are too numerous to mention. This being the case, how can we say that "the further removed literary and art creation is from politics, the better?" The merit of a literary work is not judged according to its distance from politics but according to its social and aesthetic values. Speaking in concrete terms, it is judged according to the truthfulness and profundity in its reflection of life and according to the role it plays in promoting understanding and social progress. It is judged according to the artistic quality it possesses and the aesthetic enjoyment it gives to people. Those works which truthfully and profoundly reflect life, help people to recognize life correctly, encourage people to promote social progress, and give people aesthetic enjoyment are good; otherwise they are not good. The various criticisms people have made of a small number of works over the past year are precisely aimed at these. They have been criticized either because they have distorted life or propagated erroneous viewpoints and ideas, or propagated vulgar interests and even obscene elements. A few individual works have even gone so far as to depart from the four basic principles and violate the fundamental interests of the people. They have been criticized because they have dragged in all sorts of irrelevant matters or because they have been produced in a rough and slipshod way. Not a single work has been criticized for being too close to politics. Therefore, if one should draw experience and lessons from the works that have been criticized, one should uphold the four basic principles and the realistic method of creation and strive to raise the social and aesthetic values of the works and not persist in supporting the absurd view "the further removed literary and art creation is from politics, the better."

Second, the expression "the further removed literary and art creation is removed from politics, the better" also contains a muddled idea that literature and art can be divorced from politics. As we know, it is impossible for literature and art to be divorced from politics. This point was made clear by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in his congratulatory speech at the fourth national congress of literary and art circles. The reason for this is also not difficult to understand: First, in present-day society, politics has penetrated into the various spheres of life, and to reflect life, it is impossible for a writer to leave politics aside. Second, a writer has his own political viewpoint which will invariably find expression in his works either implicitly or explicitly, strongly or weakly. Therefore, judging from either the objective reality of life or the subjective condition of the writers, it is impossible for literary and art creation to be divorced from politics. Under the influence of the leftist line, we have created some problems in the past when dealing with the relationship between literature and art and politics, such as failure to respect the special features and laws of literature and art, simplification of the relationship between literature and art and politics, simplified summation of literary and art problems as political ones, flagrant interference in literature and art and slapping political labels on literary and art works right and left. Our party has adopted a series of measures to rectify these aspects and will still make efforts to overcome their influence in the future. However, when rectifying and overcoming these "leftist" elements, we should by no means jump from one extreme to another and even discard the scientific inference that literature and art cannot be divorced from politics. To negate it and regard the expression "the further removed literary and art creation is from politics, the better" as a guiding ideology in creation will only result in leading our creation to the wrong road.

Finally, politics is extremely important to an epoch, a state and a nation. Once divorced from it, a writer is divorced from the most important thing in practical life and it is impossible for him to produce the most powerful voice of the era and write a great work embodying the spirit of the era. How can we say that "the further removed creation is from politics, the better?" We should like to ask, which great writer in the world is divorced from the politics of his era? Which great work is divorced from politics? A promising writer or a writer who has the will to reflect the era he is in and compose a song of aspirations for the people should be concerned with politics, study politics, reflect the political activities of the people and express the political interests, aspirations and demands of the people. Only in this way is it possible for him to turn out works that are worthy of the era and the people.

For the sake of our literary and art cause, we had better discard the absurd view that "the further removed literary and art creation is from politics, the better."

CHEN GUODONG ATTENDS SHANGHAI STUDY CLASS

OW032238 Shanghai JIEFANG RIBAO in Chinese 27 Nov 81 p 1

[Excerpts] In order to implement the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China, the Shanghai Municipal CCP Committee has run a short-term study class three times from early August to November this year to train principal leading cadres who are also party members at and above the ward, county and bureau level on a rotation basis. A total of 264 leading cadres took part in the study.

To guide the participants to study well the resolution in a penetrating way, leading comrades of the municipal CCP committee including Chen Guodong, Hu Lijiao, Zhong Min and Chen Yi repeatedly went to the class to hear reports and give guidance lectures. They discussed problems with the participants by treating them as equals and took the lead in analyzing themselves and talking about the gains in studying the resolution. This played a great role in promoting the participants to restore and carry forward the good study style of combining theory with practice and criticism and self-criticism.

Many comrades said "the resolution is an effective medicine for the stubborn left-leaning illness and the study class has created favorable conditions for 'curing the illness.' It gives us an opportunity to cleanse our thinking by ourselves so as to further liberate ourselves from the mental shackle of left influence for a long time."

BRIEFS

ANHUI COTTON PROCUREMENT -- The Anhui provincial people's government on 19 November issued a circular calling on all localities to earnestly implement the policy of offering higher prices for cotton sold over and above quota in order to fulfill and overfulfill this year's cotton procurement task. As of 15 November, the province had already fulfilled 54 percent of ginned cotton procurement plan, an increase of 350,000 dan over that of last year. The circular emphatically pointed out that offering higher prices for cotton sold over and above quota is the government's established policy. [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 21 Nov 81 OW]

ANHUI AGRICULTURAL HARVEST -- Anhui has reaped a rarely seen agricultural bumper harvest this year. The total output of grain has reached 34 billion jin, or 16.9 percent more than that of last year. The output of cash crops has also increased by big margins, including cotton by 14.7 percent, oil-bearing crops by 90 percent, tobacco by 230 percent, tea by 9.3 percent and hemp by 4.3 percent. [Hefei Anhui Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 24 Nov 81 OW]

GUANGDONG GOVERNOR VIEWS SPECIAL ECONOMIC ZONES

HK040355 Beijing ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE in Chinese 1520 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 3 Dec (ZHONGGUO XINWEN SHE) -- NPC Deputy and Guangdong provincial Governor Liu Tianfu said today that construction of the Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou special economic zones, a matter of concern to people at home and abroad, is being speeded up.

For example, in Shenzhen special economic zone, the construction plans are now in process of revision, the main rules and regulations have been drawn up, and work on basic construction is speeding up. Hong Kong, Overseas Chinese and foreign businessmen are coming in to talk business. By now 914 valid contracts have been signed, and investment amounts to HK\$1.2 billion.

Liu Tianfu said total value of industrial and agricultural output in the Shenzhen special zone this year is expected to reach 250 million yuan, a 31 percent rise over last year. Financial revenue is expected to be 110 million yuan, double that of last year. There is political stability and people's living standards have notably improved. Many people who had drifted away have now voluntarily returned. He told reporters the Shenzhen municipal leadership group has been readjusted, there has been a great streamlining of organs and staff, and the policy of putting in young cadres is being implemented; except for certain principal leading cadres, all the cadres there now are under 55. This has played a major role in strengthening leadership, overcoming bureaucratism, improving work efficiency, and stimulating the construction of the special zone.

Liu Tianfu also spoke on the economic situation in Guangdong. He said total value of industrial output from January to October showed a 10.5 percent rise over the same period last year; financial revenue rose by 8.1 percent, exports by 19 percent, and foreign exchange income by 14.4 percent. He said the main problem in Guangdong is high prices, especially of nonstaple foodstuffs, vegetables and fruit. This has increased the burden on the urban population. Energy and communications difficulties have affected the normal process of production. He said we must strive for steady development of the national economy in the course of solving these problems.

Liu Tianfu said Premier Zhao Ziyang's government work report is based on our national condition; it is an encouraging report. In particular, it has put forward effective measures for improvement in the light of current problems in economic construction and the defects in the management system. This has given us great encouragement. We feel touched and moved on reading this report; it gives us confidence, strength, method and hope.

HUBEI RIBAO URGES REBUILDING NEWSPAPER BOARDS

HK020712 Wuhan HUBEI RIBAO in Chinese 24 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Lu Zhiyou (0712 0237 0645): "Some Words Based on the Fate of Street Newspaper Boards"]

[Text] As a smoker, I feel deprived of something when I do not have a cigarette to smoke for a day. Those people who like reading newspapers will likewise feel a sense of deprivation when they have nothing to read for a day. I am fond of reading newspapers and always delight in being the first to read the news. Therefore, I take a great interest in several newspaper boards on Jiefang road in Wuchang. I am eager to find out what newspapers are available. The newspaper boards on Jiefang road have indeed benefited me immensely. Yet the kind of fate that has befallen them in recent years has set me thinking.

Jiefang road has the largest flow of pedestrians in Wuchang Prefecture, Wuhan municipality. There was originally a total of five newspaper boards on the street. They were well received by the passers-by. Given a 6-11-long street, they were actually widely spaced. They fell short of the actual needs of the readers. However, in the past 2 years, two have been dismantled. The remaining three also leave much to be desired, being either in a bad state of repair or stripped almost bare with just the newspaper pasted on the wall. On a windy or rainy day, the newspaper is put up only to be destroyed by the elements. If things are like this on a relatively busy street, the state of the newspaper boards in other areas is easily imagined.

Well, is it that the masses do not like reading newspapers with the newspaper boards playing only a minor role? This is not the case. As far as the only remaining three newspaper boards on Jiefang road are concerned, they are surrounded by avid readers as soon as the newspapers are put up by the post office early every morning. The readers just cannot wait to scan the news items or articles they like. They are all-attentive, drawing nourishment from them. Even on a rainy day, many people hold umbrellas hastening to finish what they want to read before the newspaper gets soaked and destroyed by rain. What does all this show? It shows that since the third plenary session of the party Central Committee, the masses have shown an ever greater enthusiasm for the study of current events, politics, economics, science and culture. It shows that with a continuous improvement in their material life, the masses of people badly need spiritual food. It shows that given the fact that people cannot subscribe to all kinds of newspapers or head for the library every day for various reasons, such as work, time and economic factors, it is necessary to install a few more street newspaper boards to satisfy the cultural needs of the masses.

The installation of a few more newspaper boards on some main streets in major cities is not only convenient for the masses but also adds to an atmosphere of civilization and prosperity. As things now stand, this should be done and can be easily done. But why is it that no one has bothered about what is only a moment's work?

In the final analysis, I am afraid that the leadership of some of our departments has so far paid no attention to "trifles," such as the installation of newspaper boards. It must be noted that though the newspaper board appears to be insignificant, it can actually carry great weight! Now the party Central Committee has once again stressed that while mindful of economic construction, we must pay serious attention to the building of spiritual civilization. However, with what should we start in building spiritual civilization? In my opinion, we must not only energetically launch some spectacular activities, such as "learning from Lei Feng and performing good deeds," but also start some healthy cultural and sports activities. Through such activities as reading books and newspapers, enjoying cultural and art programs, participating in physical training and in contests, and so forth, we can temper people's thinking, character and sentiment, and educate them subconsciously, achieving "mute" results. Thus, a firm ideological foundation for learning from Lei Feng and performing good deeds can be laid. Moreover, newspapers are an important tool for preaching and carrying out the party's various general and specific policies and disseminating spiritual civilization. How can we treat the proper operation of street newspaper boards to attract more people to read newspapers as a "trifle?"

In fact, the masses not only call for an effort to save street newspaper boards but also have much to say about the inadequacy of facilities and amenities where cultural, recreational and sports activities are concerned. From this it can be seen that in city planning, the relevant departments should not neglect the building of spiritual civilization. Even such a trifle as building newspaper boards that requires little or no effort should be taken into consideration.

HUBEI COMMENTARY ON IMPROVING LABOR REFORM WORK

HK300637 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 29 Nov 81

[Station commentary: "Improve Reform Work and Strive for a Fundamental Turn for the Better in Social Order"]

[Excerpts] The current central task of the public security organs is to promote social order and strive for a fundamental turn for the better in social order. The labor reform organs shoulder the task of reforming all kinds of criminals who have been sentenced according to law. How well the reform work is done has a very great effect on social order. Hence, to bring about a fundamental turn for the better in social order, it is essential to resolve to do a good job in labor reform work.

At present there has been a very great change in the targets of reform. Many of them are young, many come from laboring people's families, and many have committed ordinary crimes. On the one hand there are the blind, destructive and hard to teach, and on the other there are the malleable and easy to teach and save. This is a new situation in labor reform work. In improving reform work, we must continue to implement the labor reform work principle of "reform first, production second;" apart from reforming criminals into law-abiding citizens who support the socialist system, we must also remold them into useful talents for socialist construction. In particular, we must seriously implement the policies on educating, saving and remolding young delinquents.

Of course, carrying out these policies for young delinquents certainly does not mean indulging and ignoring any behavior in opposing reform. We must continue to seriously implement the NPC Standing Committee's decision on handling fugitives or repeat criminals who were undergoing labor reform and education. We must deal resolute blows at ring-leaders in collecting crowds for fights, taking violent revenge and causing uproar and trouble. We must deal severely and rapidly according to law with criminals who organize antireform gangs and beat up labor education cadres, together with criminals who continue to commit crimes after escaping.

HUNAN ISSUES CIRCULAR ANNOUNCING PRICE CONTROLS

HK040558 Changsha Hunan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Text] On 23 November, the Hunan provincial people's government issued a circular, demanding that people's governments at all levels strengthen control over the prices of agricultural products. The circular provides that effective 1 December 1981, the existing price increases, subsidies and prices that are a combination of assessment and negotiation for flue-cured tobacco, tung oil and resin will be canceled, and raw lacquer will be controlled as a second category product instead of a third category product. At the same time, the regulations to the effect that all localities may increase prices, give subsidies and reduce taxes will be canceled.

The circular points out that to ensure the basic stability of market commodity prices is the common duty of governments at all levels, all economic departments and all industrial and commercial enterprises. At present, we must especially stabilize the prices of agricultural products and adhere to the system of unified and assigned procurement. No one is allowed to reduce the fixed amount of agricultural products to be procured, enlarge the range of negotiated prices or increase prices and give subsidies at will.

AUTHOR OF 'PHANTOM' MAKES SELF-CRITICISM

HK030630 Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Nov 81 p 3

[Article by Sun Jingxuan [1327 7234 6513]: "The People Are the Writer's Mother"]

[Text] I followed a tortuous and bumpy road in my life and literary creation, just as my contemporaries did. I tasted to the full the bitterness of poverty, went through the test of battle, lived together with honest and kind peasants, shared weal and woe with them and spent years of arduous struggle which are worth remembering. I once left the people little by little, buried myself in books, separated myself from the outside world and led the so-called "spiritual life" of "exploring the inner world." I suffered setbacks and reversals and followed many twists and turns. I was once impractical in my thinking and felt perplexed, pessimistic and disappointed. However, I still tried to grope and explore and staggered along. It was only after throwing myself into the fierce struggle and living with the laboring people for a certain period of time that I eventually learned an irrefutable truth: The people, and the people alone, are the writer's mother; life, and a life of fierce struggle alone, is the cradle of the writer.

Early this summer, I stayed at the Gezhouba construction site for some time. After that I fought in the forefront of combating floods and providing disaster relief and lived in the rural area of Sichuan Province for a certain period of time. After returning to my unit, my comrades said that my mental outlook had changed a lot. I also felt relieved of a heavy spiritual load. My life is now filled with enthusiasm and confidence. I have acquired new strength.

When I sailed along the Chang Jiang and passed Ganmen along the eastern part of the river and embarked on my journey to Gezhouba, frankly speaking, I doubted the importance of this journey, because I was still groping in the dark and absorbed in meditation. In other words, I was still deep in my narrow spiritual world which was filled with anxiety, grief and vexation. My companions made fun of me on the ship, saying: "You look at the river with your eyes brimming with tears and regard it as the world. You are entertaining imaginary and groundless fears." I went to Gezhouba only as a visitor.

When I set foot on the soil of Gezhouba and passed construction sites seething with excitement and heard great dynamite explosions and the roaring of machines, it seemed as if I suddenly saw the light and entered an entirely new world.

Once a woman writer Liu Zhenyi saw me. She said: "Life in Gezhouba is a kind of new life. A new kind of people are living here. So long as you stay here for a considerable period of time, you will like the place." Just as I expected, the first night at Gezhouba left an unforgettable and deep impression on me. That night, I went back to Yichang from the engineering bureau. I waited for more than an hour, but not a single bus came. I was impatient and querulous. Two young workers smiled and said: "You are probably not an inhabitant of Gezhouba. There are no idlers and tourists in Gezhouba. Therefore, bus service here is not as sufficient as in other cities. Workers go to work in trucks." I fell silent immediately.

It is true that Gezhouba is another world and universe. Tens of thousands of laborers, new people of our socialist era, are working here. They are working selflessly and devoting themselves to the great socialist cause. They are carrying out hard and intensive labor day and night. Here every pair of eyes displays much enthusiasm, everyone shows his wisdom and the life of every individual glistens with the brilliance of youth. Here you can neither find idlers who talk volubly in tea houses, flirt with their palm-leaf fans nor any sightseers who grow long hair, wear outlandish clothes, and swagger through the streets. Here, you know nothing about boredom, empty lives, sentiments and sighs. All the constructors have deep love for the great project of Gezhouba and call themselves "people of Gezhouba." They are proud of this title.

During my stay in Gezhouba, almost every day I met new people of the new times who are common and ordinary but possess noble qualities. Almost every day, I listened to some vivid and moving stories of heroism. I met a grey-haired veteran cadre who suffered from diseases because of his previous arduous life in the battlefield. However, he refused to lead an idle life of retirement. He worked hard for the great project of Gezhouba from morning till night. Although his wife and grandson were living only several li away, he only went home to see them once every 10 or 15 days. He lived either in the builders' temporary shed or in the office. In order to induce him to go home and see his family members, some reporters asked him to take them to his home on the pretext that they liked to eat meat dumplings prepared by his wife. When the dumplings were served, his grandson climbed up to the table and said: "Grandpa, what mistakes have you committed? Grandma said you have been expelled from our family!" All the reporters present burst their sides with laughter. However, after laughing, they sat there pondering over the matter: a great number of veteran Communist Party members like him have exerted themselves to the utmost and are working untiringly for our great revolutionary and construction cause! I also met a veteran engineering and technical employee who was expelled from the party because of a historical misunderstanding. People once asked him to go to Beijing to vent his grievances, because at that time the policy concerned was being implemented. They said: "Don't let this opportunity slip by. Otherwise, you will be nothing." He replied: "I am responsible for the construction of the first dike of China's Chang Jiang -- the biggest ship lock in the world. I cannot leave this project even for a moment. If something went wrong with this ship lock, I would become a phony Communist Party member even if my party membership was restored." I met an associate engineer who was a university graduate trained in new China. He was wrongly labeled as a rightist and forced to take part in physical labor for more than 10 years. He was already a grey-haired man. His mother, who was more than 70 years old, was living in Tianjin and they had not seen each other for 20 years or so. The leaders asked him to return to Tianjin to see his mother. He said: "How I wish I could see my mother at once, throw myself into her arms and let her count my grey hairs! However, Gezhouba is the first dike on the Chang Jiang which is as long as 10,000 li and is one of the biggest engineering projects of new China. My greatest desire in life is to make a contribution to the water conservation project and make achievements to bring credit and honor to the people and the motherland. We are now seizing every minute and second. How can I have the time to visit my mother!"

It was the noble quality and lofty ideological level of the people of Gezhouba that affected and shook me up so that my state of mind and feelings changed a lot. Every night, when I looked at the ocean of light at the construction site and heard the roaring of machines and explosion of dynamite, I was so moved that I could not sleep. It seemed as if I had returned to the years of revolutionary war and my nearly frozen heart was filled with revolutionary enthusiasm again.

In particular, 15 June was an unforgettable day in my life. On that day, I stood on the deck of the passenger vessel "Dong-Fanghong I" which passed the world's greatest ship lock amid cheers and applause from the both sides of the river. At that time, I could no longer control my excited feelings and tears rolled down my cheeks. I could not refrain from shouting: "Oh, China! You are here. Here is China." It was true that I felt proud of the world's greatest ship lock built in our motherland and the encouraging progress scored on the path of the four modernizations. In the meantime, I felt shame and compunction because I had let down the motherland and the people who nurtured me.

True, I felt shame and compunction. While our country has been marching toward the brilliant goal of the four modernizations after 10 years of chaos and millions upon millions of workers and peasants have been working selflessly, quietly putting their shoulders to the wheel, struggling hard and making contributions to the socialist construction day and night, and a number of people have even given their precious lives, what have I done? As a poet, I did not sing the praises of our great times and commend the new people of our times. On the contrary, I was prey to a previous "spiritual wound:" I moaned and groaned, blamed everyone and everything but myself and was full of grievances.... Should I not examine my conscience and question myself and consider my own problems seriously?!

It was only after comparing myself with the builders of Gezhouba that I understood myself clearly. I felt apologetic toward the people and thus I cherished the strongest aspirations: Go right to the people, plunge into the thick of life and the fierce struggle. Therefore after returning from Gezhouba, I went right to the front line of combating floods and providing relief. Although I did not stay long with the people of the flooded areas, the honesty, good will, diligence and bravery of the Chinese peasants and their indomitable and tenacious heroic spirit displayed in front of severe floods educated me and left a very deep and unforgettable impression on me.

I visited a small island in the flooded area, which was originally a beautiful and richly endowed village. However, due to the devastation of flood, it was suddenly turned into an isolated island without a single tile left. Although more than a hundred inhabitants of the island could survive because they relied on a life preserver and a raft, they became penniless and no longer owned anything. Due to the fact that it was difficult for them to live on an isolated island, the local party organization planned to move them to other production brigades, but they were not willing to leave the island no matter what happened. Not long after the flood abated, I went to the island and found out that silt and splintered stones had been cleared away. They sowed seeds again on a small plot of land. Although they lived in temporary sheds made of straw, in which no pans and cooking stoves were available and the living conditions were poor, they had hope and confidence in life and never complained of hardship or suffering or sighed in despair. As I was leaving the island, a girl aged 15 or 16 asked me to tell the county CCP committee that they would stay on the island. She said: "There may be gold and silver living quarters, but ours are even more comfortable even though they are now like kennels. We hate to leave our native land. As long as we have land, we will have grain. As long as we have land, we will survive. We will certainly rebuild our home village by relying on our own hands. As the saying goes, when it is raining, the road is slippery. Pick yourself up from where you fall!"

"Pick yourself up from where you fall!" What a sonorous and forceful sentence! What backbone! What lofty ambition! What boldness of vision! Is it not the voice of a long-tested, staunch and great nation?! What they said shook me up and brought immense strength to me. I could not calm down no matter how hard I tried.

After returning from Gezhouba and the flooded area, I could not but seriously and profoundly think of my own problems and make a conscientious self-criticism and compare myself with the masses of peasants and workers who are working hard and diligently for the socialist revolution and construction. Should I continue the past practice of separating myself from the people's lives and regarding myself as standing in an observation tower to view social life pessimistically.

Here, I should reexamine my controversial long poem "A Phantom Is Wandering Over the Vast Land of China" and make a self-criticism, because after the publication of this poem in the January issue of CHANG AN literary monthly, it produced a bad social influence both at home and abroad.

In recent years, I have always been thinking about such a problem: Why do we fail to solve the problem of bureaucracy and privilege despite our efforts to raise the issue again and again? Why should an abnormal situation occur in the political life of our party and country during the 10 years of chaos? Why could the counterrevolutionary clique of Lin Biao and the "gang of four" exercise feudal fascist dictatorship and whip up superstitious fanaticism in the society during the 10 years of chaos? Why could an "express" emerge in a socialist country in the 1970's? I thought that it was because the phantom of feudal ideology still exercised its evil influence over various fields. Therefore, I wrote the long poem "A Phantom Is Wandering Over the Vast Land of China," trying to expose and criticize the feudal ideology in our social life. It is beyond reproach to consider and explore the question of feudal ideology and reflect it in literary works, because our party has repeatedly pointed out that this is a fighting task on the ideological front. The problem lies in what stand, views and feelings we should take and use to observe and deal with this question and what kind of conclusion we should draw. It was precisely on this matter that I wrote erroneous works.

In spite of the fact that ours is a great socialist country and that our socialist system has displayed its infinite superiority, there are still many shortcomings and defects or even passive and dark sides in our country. We should not expect any magnificent thing in the world to be absolutely perfect. Our party never conceals its shortcomings and mistakes. On the contrary, it always takes the initiative to expose them thoroughly so as to correct and overcome them. As a writer, I should, first of all, enthusiastically sing the praises of our great times and our great people, praise newborn things in practical life, which are filled with infinite vitality, as well as create artistic images of the new socialist people. Of course, I should also expose and castigate the passive and dark sides of social life. However, this involves problems of stand, viewpoint and thinking and feeling. Just as Comrade Deng Yingchao said, if a writer does not regard himself as part of the people and a revolutionary in particular; if he does not love life and the cause of the party and the people; if he stays aloof from the party and the people and lacks a sense of social responsibility, and if he observes and deals with social life with a fastidious attitude and gloomy view, he is bound to turn things upside down, distort nature and the facts and produce adverse social effects.

The reason why my poem "A Phantom Is Wandering Over the Vast Land of China" goes contrary to my wishes, produces harmful side effects over the readers and the society is precisely because I adopted erroneous stands and viewpoints and a lopsided method of thinking. I was carried away by my emotions and my state of mind was not healthy. Therefore, I exaggerated and played up the social role of the "Phantom." I failed to correctly point out that the "Phantom" is only an ideological remnant which is being resisted, gradually overcome and eliminated by the powerful socialist ideology. In so doing, I gave people the impression that feudalism is still running rampant in socialist China and that the party and the people are at a loss and powerless before it. Of course, while writing poems, we usually employ artistic exaggeration. Unlike writing theoretical articles, in writing poems, it is difficult to use accurate language to explain complicated problems. However, as long as a poet has a slight sense of responsibility for the society, he should not be vague on matters of principle. For example, he should strictly differentiate between bureaucracy in our work and privileges from the feudal system in history. We should make a strict distinction between the personality cult, deification movement and feudal fascist dictatorship advocated by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" on the one hand and the mistakes committed by Chairman Mao during his later years on the other. While criticizing feudal ideology, he should be careful not to propagate bourgeois liberalization and humanist ideology.

The creation of "A Phantom Is Wandering Over the Vast Land of China" was not at all accidental. It was written under certain historical and social conditions. After the 10 years of chaos and the unheard-of calamities, I recalled a painful experience. Over the past few years, I have always thought of and studied the unhappiness and sufferings of our motherland and people, trying to sum up historical experience and analyze the historical, social and ideological roots. These efforts were originally above criticism. However, study and exploration do not mean indulging in fantasy and the emancipation of minds does not mean going off into wild flights of fancy. We should take Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought as a guide to understand and deal with various historical and social problems. If our stand, viewpoints and orientation are wrong, we are liable to depart from the socialist ideological path and lapse into the quagmire of bourgeois liberalization. We have drawn profound lessons from this problem.

Most writers who grew up during the 1950's have their own unhappy experiences and painful recollections. They have spiritual wounds in varying degrees. There is the problem of how to deal with them correctly. Some comrades realize that personal suffering should be linked with the entire historical and social background. It is unavoidable that we should pay a price in order to carry out revolution. Therefore, they are broad-minded and have full confidence in life and in the future. They always look ahead. However, some comrades are bound by their own narrow spiritual world and cannot free themselves from their sad recollections. They more or less nurse grievances and always sing a melancholy tune.

In the construction site of Gezhouba, there was a comrade worker who was found of poems. After reading my long poem, he criticized me, saying: "You are writing your poem with your eyes filled with tears. Therefore, tears blurred your vision. You look at life from a phantom's viewpoint, so you find phantoms everywhere." What an accurate, sharp and pointed criticism! These short sentences pointed to the crux of my problem. In his speech delivered at the meeting in commemoration of the centenary of Lu Xun's birth, Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Certain comrades unjustly treated in the past feel somewhat resentful. This is understandable. But if they nurse resentment against the party and the socialist system when observing society and writing new works, this is entirely wrong." These few sentences indicate that our party fully understands and shows concern for writers who were once unjustly treated and that the party also earnestly exhorts and severely criticizes them. These are sincere words and earnest wishes. They shake me up and force me to seriously consider my own problems. True, a people's writer should be broad-minded and have a higher ideological level and a broad vision. He should love life and the people's cause. If he is always carried away by his sentiments, fails to rouse himself and to break out of the narrow spiritual world and engages only in the "literature of complaints against unfairness" as Comrade Yaobang describes it, how can he write good works which will boost the morale of the nation and arouse the fighting will of the people? Does it not mean that he is unworthy of the trust of the people who have nurtured him?

When I returned from Gezhouba and the flooded areas in Sichuan, the national forum held by the CCP Central Committee on problems on the ideological front had just ended. The forum criticized "certain unhealthy and passive things which are harmful to the people." This evoked widespread comment. Some people said: "The policy of 'letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend' will be changed," "the central authorities will impose restrictions again." Some other people said: "It was wrong to encourage the practice of opening wide," "the emancipation of the minds has overstepped the limits" and so forth. I believe that all these statements are wrong because they distort the party's guiding principles and policies for literature and art. I maintain that we are now facing a great historical turning point and profound changes have taken place in our social life. The party Central Committee is doing well in bringing order out of chaos and encouraging the emancipation of the minds so that a vivid and vigorous situation is occurring in our country's political life. Under such circumstances, it is normal that some defects and mistakes have occurred in literary and art circles. We should not be alarmed about them. The purpose of the party Central Committee in criticizing and warning against certain erroneous tendencies on the literary and art front is to promote the health and normal development and prosperity of literature and art. Our writers should carry out criticism and self-criticism. If there are mistakes and defects in their works, why should they reject criticism by the party and the people. Criticism does not mean "wielding a big stick" or "wanton intervention." Criticism and self-criticism are our party's fine tradition and an effective weapon for overcoming shortcomings and correcting mistakes. Our great revolutionary cause has gradually developed and grown. Is it not because we have taken up this weapon?!

In conclusion, I would like to add a few words which are not superfluous. Some people in foreign countries have entertained groundless fears. Some other people have tried to stir up ill feelings out of malicious intentions, saying: "when wind and rain have come again" and "spring is over." I would like to ask: Have you experienced any spring without wind and rain? Without spring breezes, can grass and trees turn green? Without spring rain, how can a hundred flowers bloom luxuriantly? Gentlemen, you would be well advised not to worry about troubles of your own imagining. Our socialist literature and art will surely further thrive and prosper.

HEBEI RIBAO REPRINTS ARTICLE ON CRITICIZING CADRES

HK040810 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 25 Nov 81 p 1

[Reprint of "gongchangdang yuan" [party member] contributing commentator's article: "Why Must We Criticize the Former Principal Responsible Person of the Provincial CCP Committee?"]

[Text] As pointed out in the recently convened work meeting of the provincial CCP committee, we must further criticize "leftist" practices and the serious mistakes made by the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee through studying and carrying out the spirit of the sixth plenary session. However, a number of party members and cadres have some wrong interpretations of this requirement. Here we shall cite some major examples.

For the first example, some people have said, "Who did not make mistakes during the 'Great Cultural Revolution?' Then why should we criticize the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee?" Indeed, the "Great Cultural Revolution" itself was a serious mistake of overall importance. As pointed out in the resolution adopted at the sixth plenary session, it was not and cannot possibly be considered a revolution and social progress in any sense. It is difficult to find a person who never made mistakes during the "Cultural Revolution." This was a problem of universality or "generality" under the given historical conditions at that time. However, the mistakes committed by the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee have their "individuality" apart from their "generality," so the responsibility can never be avoided using the excuse that "everybody made mistakes." The former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee had already been acting in a very "leftist" way before the "Great Cultural Revolution." Later in the "Cultural Revolution" he carried out a set of "leftist" policies. He called himself a "leftist" as soon as the "Cultural Revolution" started. He attacked a lot of old cadres but refused to take the responsibility for his actions and carry out self-criticism. He shielded his own people and drifted apart from those who refused to go along with him, and thus seriously harmed the party's unity and destroyed the party's fine tradition and work style. Moreover, in insisting on a passive and resistant attitude over a long period of time, he refused to transmit and carry out the spirit of the third plenary session. Although the leading cadres of the party's central authorities had repeatedly and patiently tried to educate, criticize and help him, he was still insufficiently aware and failed to do his best in correcting his mistakes. On the contrary, he boasted of "being correct all along" and claimed that he had persistently struggled against the "gang of four." While continuing to cover up, defend and persist in "leftist" mistakes, he stubbornly refused to carry out the party's policies for cadres, to reverse unjust, false and wrong verdicts and to clear away smash-and-grabbers. This already fully shows that the mistakes by the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee were not of a general nature but a kind of serious leftist mistake which brought great harm to the party, the people as well as to various undertakings in Hebei Province. On the other hand, some of his wrong views and practices still keep some party members and cadres from doing open thinking and damage our work in Hebei. Quite obviously, without criticizing the mistakes of the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee, we will not be able to smoothly carry out the lines, guiding principles and policies adopted since the third plenary session, set to right things which have been thrown into disorder and promote the economic and cultural construction in our province.

For the second example, we have heard the idea, "What is the use of being hard on a person who has already been transferred?" It is true that the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee has been transferred. But the problem is not as simple as in everyday life where "tea cools off as soon as the person leaves." Though the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee has left, the influence of his "leftist" mistakes has not subsequently faded away. The reason is, a wrong thought and view will never fade away naturally until the person upholding such a thought and view is transferred. This has actually been proved.

The former responsible person of the provincial CCP committee boasted of his "being correct all along" and "struggling persistently against the gang of four." All these views, which are total lies, continue to be heavy burdens on some of our comrades, throwing them into a state of blindness and making them ignore the arduousness and urgency in carrying out policies, reversing unjust, false and wrong verdicts, and so on in our province. Such a wrong view is even employed by a small number of people as a pretext for boycotting the reversal of unjust, false and wrong verdicts and the enforcement of the party's policies. Moreover, some people wrongly insist that "it was right to criticize someone in the past, and it is also right to reverse his case now", and this view has hampered the carrying out of party policies. In short, they mean they are always correct and other people are always wrong no matter what has been done. For this reason, progress in the enforcement of policies has been quite slow so far. Some comrades have not got rid of mental hang-ups and still feel unhappy even though they have had their cases reversed and have been assigned new jobs. It is even worse that some of our party members and cadres are ideologically confused and cannot distinguish between right and wrong, regarding "leftism" as correct, since the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee has been holding a passive and resistant attitude for a long time toward the spirit of the third plenary session. They always insist that the party is currently carrying out rightist policies though actually it is their own thoughts that have deviated and become "leftist."

Even among personnel who work in leading organizations there are some who have various wrong understanding on the lines, guiding principles and policies adopted since the third plenary session. No one would come out to criticize and stop people who publicly spread statements full of suspicion and resentment. Is such a grave situation that evil prevails over justice still not adequate evidence to show what serious harm the mistakes of the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee have done to Hebei Province? Is it still not sufficient to show the necessity of further criticizing "leftist" mistakes along with criticizing the mistakes of the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee in the direction pointed out by the provincial CCP committee? The mistakes of the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee not only harmed the party's cause but also damaged quite a few party members and cadres. It is dangerous indeed if we let the situation develop while our comrades remain unaware of these problems! There is even less support for the argument that criticizing the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee is "being hard on him". To criticize the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee is entirely an act in the interests of the party's cause, and not a matter related to the resentment between different individuals or different groups of people. To criticize him does not mean "to attack him" or "to overthrow him," still less "to attack" those who have been working with him or have committed mistakes under his influence. Our real aim is to criticize and clear away his "leftist" mistakes according to the lines, guiding principles and policies adopted since the third plenary session. This will not only help and enable him to redeem himself but also serve as a profound lesson to the vast numbers of party members and cadres, which will emancipate them from the ideological confinement arising from the "leftist" mistakes of the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee, improve their ideological level and understanding of the policies, and strengthen their consciousness in carrying out the line of the third plenary session. In this sense, the criticism against "leftist" practices and the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee is an important supplement to the campaign to enforce the spirit of the third plenary session in our province.

For the third example, some people think that "we are practicing factionalism again." Of those comrades who hold such a view, some may have good motives as they are worried about the resurgence of factionalism. This concern is understandable since our comrades really suffered from factionalism, and we really paid too high a price for the bitter lesson during the 10-year turbulence.

However, the case is different for a small number of people who evaluate the criticism against "leftist" practices and the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee in view of their own factions, proceeding from a factionalist viewpoint. They insist on relating the matter of factionalism to the major issues of principle such as whether the lines, guiding principles and policies adopted at the third plenary session should be upheld. This is completely wrong. We must uphold party spirit and get rid of factionalism in criticizing "leftist" practices and the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee, as in any other matter. No one is allowed to make use of the occasion to promote factionalism and provoke disputes. All the factions arising from the 10-year turbulence are the products of "leftist" mistakes. It is not suitable to label them differentially as correct or wrong, but to grade them according to their degree of wrongness. Promoting factionalism was precisely one of the grave mistakes of the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee. In criticizing him, we aim at resuming the fine tradition and work style of the party, eliminating factionalism and upholding party spirit. All party members and cadres must cast off the yoke of factionalism and act strictly according to the principles set by the party and to the party spirit. The criticism against the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee should only be carried out strictly in light of the facts and on the basis of the lines, guiding principles and policies. We cannot tolerate any factionalist elements interfering in our work or continuing to stir things up, create splits and do evil.

Criticizing "leftist" practices along with criticizing the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee is an important matter concerning complete political conformity with the central authority's directives as well as the improvement of the consciousness of the party members and cadres of Hebei Province and the consolidation of the party's unity. Party organizations at different levels must conscientiously see that the work is done properly. All unnecessary formalities must be avoided to solidly resolve the problems.

In criticizing "leftist" practices along with criticizing the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee, we must put the stress on clearing up "leftist" influence in leading thought. As for the vast number of party members and cadres, we will mainly carry out positive education, encouraging them to sum up experiences by themselves without unfolding any campaign in which people at both the higher and lower levels would be involved. Starting from reality, we should sum up into a few points those wrong views which strictly bind people's thinking, in integrating the understanding of the party members and cadres with the actual practices in our own region and units, and then organize everybody to participate in discussions based on fact and reason, carry out criticism and self-criticism so as to distinguish between right and wrong, unify our understanding and raise our consciousness. When we accomplish this, we will be able to vigorously mobilize the initiative of the vast number of party members, cadres and masses throughout the province, promote the tasks of reversing unjust, false and wrong verdicts, carrying out policies, restructuring the leadership groups and so on within a relatively short period of time and thus promptly change the face of our province.

HEBEI RIBAO VIEWS NEW LABOR SYSTEM IN COAL MINES

HK020900 Shijiazhuang HEBEI RIBAO in Chinese 21 Nov 81 p 2

["Economic Work Research" column by Lei Qingsheng [7191 1987 3932]: "The Necessity of Practicing Two Labor Systems in Coal Mines as Seen by the Experience of Fengfeng Mining Bureau"]

[Text] The Fengfeng mining bureau's coal mine has a history of more than 50 years. Under this bureau, there are 26 units with 74,650 regular workers, 125 casual laborers and over 8,600 unplanned laborers from the countryside. Of the 42,180 workers who take part in productive labor, 18,460 work in the forefront of mining and account for 43.7 percent of the total number and 23,720 are auxiliary laborers and account for the other 56.2 percent. As a result of the present employment system, there exist many problems in the units:

1. The number of workers who directly take part in productive labor is steadily decreasing every year and this requires that replacements be found. Due to sickness, injuries and disabilities as well as resignations, retirements and deaths, some 1,300 pitmen discontinue working each year, which constitutes 8 percent of all pitmen. These vacancies are usually filled by new workers recruited from the countryside.
2. For various reasons, workers who become unable to work in the pits have been transferred to some other posts above ground. Thus, the proportion of the workers who work in the second and the third lines has been growing, and the number of working personnel outside the pits is greater than what is needed.
3. More workers have become old, weak, sick and disabled. Since the work in the pits is hard and the labor conditions are poor, the workers' stamina is easily exhausted and they become very weak. In this bureau, more than 7,000 workers have, to varying degrees, contracted occupational or other diseases. It is estimated that after working for an average of 14 to 15 years, the pitmen who work in the forefront of mining have to be transferred to the second or the third lines, and about 5 percent of them are unable to take part in heavy physical labor and do not meet the retirement requirements as set in state regulations. As a result, the units are burdened with a heavier load each year.
4. Miners' children, especially their daughters, have difficulties in getting jobs. Finding employment has become harder because the enterprises would rather recruit workers from the countryside than among miners' children, who already have commodity grain like their urban counterparts and are reluctant to work in the pits. In addition, many of the aboveground posts are already held by the old, weak, sick and disabled.
5. The incidence of husbands and wives living apart is far too high. About 50 percent of the mine's staff and workers and 65 percent of the pitmen and their dependents are rural residents. Yet, some of them have been living near the mine for a long time. Since they are not urban residents, they have certainly met with many great difficulties. While at the same time, as most pitmen have their families in the countryside, the attendance rate usually has been low during festivals, holidays and agricultural busy seasons. As a result, coal production is also affected.
6. Due to the rapid loss of workers who work in the production forefront and the insufficiency or the delay by the state in replacing them, the enterprises have to recruit unplanned laborers from the countryside. However, since no clear regulations and policies have yet been made by the state concerning such laborers, there has been great disorder in dealing with problems such as labor management, labor insurance, material benefits and treatment for the insured and disabled. Sometimes, it has become almost impossible to deal with these problems.

From the situation of the Fengfeng mining bureau we can see that there are many shortcomings in the present labor and employment systems in coal mines. This must be changed, and the way to do so is to practice the "two labor systems" advocated by Comrade Liu Shaoqi in the late 1950's. Recently some comrades in the central authorities pointed out that the method of contracting workers and of workers in rotation would be adopted in new pits and mines. If the old method is continued, that is, the method of lifting a rock only to drop it on our own feet, which has already shattered one of our feet, and if both of our feet are shattered, we shall not be able to move even an inch further. To suit the special conditions in the coal mine enterprises, it is necessary, and also possible, to practice the employment system which has both the permanent workers and workers who work in rotation being implemented at the same time. For important technical jobs as well as for group leaders and technical cadres who work in the production forefront, we must continue to employ permanent workers; but the ordinary pitmen can be recruited from the countryside and work in rotation.

The mines can sign contracts and settle accounts directly with communes and brigades, and the workers who will work in the mine in rotation, can be allotted by the production brigades. The system of calculating work points on the basis of work done and the system of working in fixed rotation can also be practiced. Tunnel projects can be contracted to capable and experienced communes and brigades. This will be beneficial to the continuous renewal of the labor force in the forefront and the raising of both the attendance rate and productivity. It will also be good for the pitmen's health and help reduce the number of the old, weak, sick and disabled. In this way, both the number of urban residents and the supply of commodity grain will not be increased, and yet the surplus labor in the countryside could be utilized. So, it is beneficial to both the state and the people. In practicing the "two labor systems," there will be many more principled problems which need to be studied and solved. The "two labor systems" can be perfected and strengthened in practice.

NEI MONGGOL READJUSTS CAPITAL CONSTRUCTION FUNDS

SK030931 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Text] According to our correspondent (Li Gong), party and government leading organizations and capital construction departments at all levels throughout the region have conscientiously implemented the principle of readjusting the national economy and vigorously cut down investment in capital construction. As a result, the region's capital construction front has been contracted and the utilization of this investment has become coordinated and rational.

In the January-October period of this year, the regional investment in capital construction amounted to 581.97 million yuan, a decrease of 260.54 million yuan or 30.92 percent from the corresponding 1980 period. The investment by the state was 356.36 million yuan, a 38.69 percent decrease from the corresponding 1980 period. As to the utilization of this investment, because we have strengthened the nonproductive construction which has a direct bearing on the people's livelihood, the ratio of nonproductive construction investment increased to 43.96 percent from 28.19 percent in the corresponding 1980 period, thus improving the ratio between the primary and complementary construction projects.

The increase of nonproductive construction investment has resulted in the expansion of residential construction. In the first 10 months of this year, regional investment in residential construction amounted to 149.61 million yuan, a 16.09 percent increase over the corresponding 1980 period. The proportion of residential investment in the investment as a whole increased to 25.71 percent from 15.3 percent in the corresponding 1980 period.

Meanwhile, cultural, educational and public health undertakings and urban supply services have developed rapidly. In 1981, the region built a railway and highway-crossing bridge, two 1,000-seat large-scale theaters and a hotel with 1,500 beds. The urban water supply capacity has increased by 50,000 tons and the storage capacity of commercial icehouses has increased by 1,200 tons.

The returns on the investment in capital construction are good. As of the end of October, the region had an additional 143.69 million yuan worth of fixed assets and the rate of availability of such assets increased to 24.69 percent from 21.6 percent in the corresponding 1980 period.

NEI MONGGOL MILITARY DISTRICT HOLDS MEETING

SK041011 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Excerpt] According to our reporters (Wu Xinmin) and (Chen Dong), this morning in Hohhot the regional military district held a meeting of representatives of those who are advanced in the campaign of learning from Lei Feng, models and heroes and those who are advanced in the building of socialist spiritual civilization.

Attending the meeting were (Cai Ying), commander of the regional military district; (Li Chunyi) and (Liang Fenggang), deputy commanders of the regional military district; Li Zhenghe, and (Meng Qingxian), deputy political commissars of the regional military district; (Li Yongseng), adviser of the regional military district; and responsible comrades of ideological, political, and logistics departments.

BRIEFS

NEI MONGGOL BARLEY OUTPUT -- Nei Monggol has reaped a bumper barley harvest this year. According to figures released by the regional statistics bureau, the 1981 regional barley output is estimate at 34.74 million jin, up 8.6 percent over 1980. The per-mu barley output increases from 91 jin in 1980 to 112 jin this year. [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 20 Nov 81 SK]

NEI MONGGOL SOYBEANS -- Nei Monggol region reaped a bumper soybean harvest this year. By 25 November, the region had procured 139.85 million jin, overfulfilling the annual soybean procurement plan by 3.6 percent. The region's soybean output has reached 320 million jin, a level attained before the Cultural Revolution. [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 30 Nov 81 SK]

SHANXI PEASANT GRAIN PRODUCTION -- According to a SHANXI RIBAO report, as of late October, some 12,800 peasant households in Shanxi Province have produced over 10,000 jin of grain each. Despite various natural calamities this year, Shanxi Province still reaped a bumper agricultural harvest. The implementation of all forms of the production responsibility system enabled the province to bring about good production and a bumper harvest. As a result, brigades and households in various areas became better off than before. [Taiyuan Shanxi Provincial Service in Mandarin 2300 GMT 19 Nov 81 HK]

TIANJIN SALES EXHIBITION -- The railway corps of the PLA units held for the first time a sales exhibition on goods and materials in Hebei district, Tianjin, from 30 November to 9 December. In the first 2 days of the exhibition, more than 300 units and 500 people visited the exhibition and purchased a total of 1.21 million yuan worth of goods and materials. The purpose of this exhibition is to market the engineering machinery, equipment, vehicles, tents and building materials which are not needed by the railway corps so as to support the construction of the project of diverting the Luan He water to Tianjin and housing construction. [Tianjin City Service in Mandarin 1430 GMT 3 Dec 81 SK]

HEILONGJIANG PLA UNITS NOTED FOR FLOOD-FIGHTING

HK020228 [Editorial Report] Harbin HEILONGJIANG RIBAO in Chinese on 21 November carries on page 2 a roll of honor of individuals and units involved in flood-fighting in Heilongjiang this year. The following PLA units of Heilongjiang Military District are listed: 81732; 81656; the artillery company of the 3d Battalion of Unit 81678; the 4th Company of the 2d Battalion of Unit 81697; the 2d Company of Unit 81681; the 11th Company of Unit 81687; the 4th Company of Unit 81767. Numerous companies of the following units under Unit 81032: 81136; 81138; 81140; 81142; 81153; 81162; 81160; 81164. The following unit under Unit 86001: 86013.

HEILONGJIANG OFFICIAL VIEWS ENDING DIVIDED CLASSES

SK030733 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Speech by (Liang Zhichao), director of the Heilongjiang provincial education bureau, on abolishing "fast progress" and "slow progress" classes in the province's primary and middle schools -- date and place not given -- recorded]

[Excerpts] During the Great Cultural Revolution, primary and middle school education suffered utter destruction. Many students graduated from school with a diploma but lacked the corresponding level of knowledge. According to an estimate from available data, about 40 to 50 percent of students during that time failed to meet requirements called for in the teaching program. In some cases, the situation was even worse.

In 1977 the entrance examination system was restored. However, the cultural levels of students in the same grade were uneven at that time, which made it difficult to teach them in the same class. Such being the case, the various localities throughout the country, including our province, universally adopted the temporary measure of dividing students into different classes according to their abilities, allowing some classes to lag behind the teaching schedule while allowing others to go ahead. In the first and second years, this system made some progress. On balance, however, there were more disadvantages than advantages in it. According to the objectives of primary and middle school education, only a minority of our middle school graduates are able to enter higher educational institutions. The overwhelming majority will become the reserves of our labor force. Dividing students into fast and slow progress classes benefited the minority but left the majority in the cold. It also gave rise to the erroneous trend of competition among schools to increase the number of students enrolled by colleges.

Primary and middle school education is elementary education. Graduates of primary and middle schools, whether they will continue their education or not, should have acquired some basic moral, intellectual and physical development. In the division into fast and slow progress classes, the few students who were regarded as having a good chance of entering college were grouped together and assigned better teachers. They were expected to pass the entrance examination. Under such a system, how could we lay a good educational foundation for all students?

In view of this, the provincial education bureau in 1979 issued a circular calling for an end to the fast and slow progress classes. However, at that time we were not resolute and lacked an adequate understanding of the situation, and fast and slow progress classes continued in all schools, especially in the graduating classes.

GANSU PROCURATORS' CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL ORDER

SK030924 Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Text] Gansu Province sponsored a conference from 20 November to 1 December with the participation of over 100 people, including chief procurators from the provincial people's procuratorate and its subprocuratorates, the prefectural and municipal people's procuratorates, the county level procuratorates and from the procuratorial organs of mining areas and railway and forestry circles throughout the province, as well as responsible comrades concerned. The conference urged that all procuratorial organs at all levels focus their attention on the current tasks for maintaining social order and successfully improve the public security situation as soon as possible.

During the conference, participants studied the spirit of the national work conference sponsored by the Supreme People's Court with the participation of chief procurators from various provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions and the instructions issued by the central authorities on politics and law. They exchanged their experiences gained in work and set forth future tasks for procuratorial work.

In order to further successfully improve the public security situation, the conference put forward the following measures: 1) In line with the law, it is necessary to strictly punish as quickly as possible those convicted of murder, rape, arson, robbery and explosion and criminals who have seriously disturbed public security; 2) it is necessary to strengthen the management of jails and reformatories to resolutely deal blows at criminal recidivism; 3) efforts should be made to struggle against crimes of sabotage of the socialist economic system and to encourage procuratorial personnel to directly accept and hear cases and to personally conduct investigations; 4) in line with the actual work situation in procuratorial organs, it is necessary to encourage personnel to join in the work to consolidate public security in a comprehensive manner; and 5) it is necessary to enhance the building of procuratorial personnel manpower.

At the conference, Wang Bingxiang, secretary of the provincial CCP committee and deputy governor of the province, delivered a speech in which he put forward the following principles for further successful improvement of public security throughout the province: 1) The number of serious criminal cases and other criminal cases should be reduced; 2) the task to consolidate public security in a comprehensive manner should be fulfilled first; 3) the quality of education and reform conducted among convicts through labor should be raised and the amount of criminal recidivism should be reduced; 4) the rate of cracking criminal cases should be raised; and 5) the number of people who dare to wage struggles against criminals should be increased.

BRIEFS

GANSU TAIWAN COMPATRIOTS FORUM -- Under the sponsorship of the united front work department of the provincial CCP committee, a 6-day forum of Taiwan compatriots concluded 11 November. Participants from the provincial organs and scientific research and educational units and other departments concerned studied and discussed Comrade Ye Jianying's proposal on returning Taiwan to the motherland. Wang Bingxiang, secretary of the provincial CCP committee and deputy governor; and Yang Zhilin, adviser of the provincial CCP committee and chairman of the provincial CPPCC committee, attended and addressed the forum. [Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 12 Nov 81 SK]

GANSU EDIBLE OIL PROCUREMENT -- By 20 November, Gansu Province had procured over 15 million jin of edible oil, a 35 percent increase over the corresponding 1980 period. Such a rapid fulfillment of the oil procurement plan has occurred rarely in the last 10 years. [Lanzhou Gansu Provincial Service in Mandarin 1125 GMT 28 Nov 81 SK]

PREMIER SUN ISSUES GUIDELINES FOR NEW MINISTERS

OW031429 Taipei CNA in English 1400 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Text] Taipei, 3 Dec (CNA) -- Premier Sun Yun-hsuan Thursday urged his cabinet ministers to review administrative measures, adopt scientific systems, demonstrate a spirit of teamwork and listen to the public for the best interests of the people.

At the first meeting of the Executive Yuan after a major reshuffle, Premier Sun gave guidelines for various ministries and commissions to follow so as to better serve this nation.

The meeting also served to welcome the new faces in the cabinet under Premier Sun. They include Vice Premier Chu Chuang-huan, Interior Minister Lin Yang-kang, Defense Minister Soong Chang-chih, Finance Minister Hsu Li-teh, Economics Minister Chao Yao-tung, and Communications Minister Lien Chan.

Main points of Premier Sun's instructions are as follows:

-- Carry out political and administrative reforms by working out short-, medium- and long-term plans, paying close attention to public opinions and suggestions made by the lawmakers.

-- Emphasize the discipline of public servants, offer better services to the people, practise thrift and diligence, and improve administrative efficiency.

-- Invite scholars and experts to serve as consultants in major governmental organs, and also listen to the suggestions by private organizations.

-- Stress the importance of public relations and communications with the public, and coordinate well among all the governmental agencies so as to increase efficiency and mutual understanding.

OIL SUPPLY AGREEMENT WITH SAUDI ARABIA SIGNED

OW021109 Taipei CNA in English 1012 GMT 2 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Riyadh, 2 Dec (CNA) -- Chinese Ambassador Hsueh Yu-chi Tuesday signed an agreement with the Saudi Ministry of Petroleum and Mineral Resources under which the Saudi Government will continue to sell 50,000 barrels of crude oil per day to Chinese Government in 1982.

The direct sale agreement provides that Petromin, the Saudi national oil company, will supply the China Petroleum Corporation with a total of 18,250,000 barrels of crude in 1982, including 7,665,000 barrels of Arabian light, 1,460,000 barrels of berri crude, 3,650,000 barrels of Arabian medium, and 5,475,000 barrels of Arabian heavy.

Ambassador Hsueh stressed the significance of the sale, saying this is a manifestation of the friendly ties between the two countries. He said the Chinese Government is appreciative of the Saudi Government's assistance and will in turn do its utmost to cooperate with the kingdom in its development program.

CHENG MING ON PARTY, STATE, PEOPLE RELATIONS

HK031435 Hong Kong CHENG MING in Chinese No 50, 1 Dec 81 p 6

[Article by Kao Wen [7559 3306]: "The Nation and the People Come First"]

[Text] On the mainland, as tens of thousands of people hailed the great victories of the Chinese athletic teams, there was often an outburst of cheering: Long live China!"

This happened only recently. For over 30 years such cheers could not be heard.

"Long live China!" "Long live China!" I feel this slogan is very good, and the best in comparison with the other slogans of the past 30 years and more. Why do I say this? Because this slogan embodies the spirit of patriotism comes from the depths of the people's hearts and is an instance of righting things which have been thrown into disorder.

For many years, all victories, such as victories in launching a satellite or in winning a game, were regarded by those in power as "great victories of Mao Zedong Thought," and the slogans to hail these victories were usually "Long live Mao Zedong Thought!" and "Long live Chairman Mao!" This is a means of propaganda to deify a certain person and a certain party. Once the slaves of the deification movement, the people on the mainland have become more clever and detested and rejected slogans for political propaganda. In comparison with the past when the people had to follow the official tunes, the outburst of the slogan "Long live China!" which embodies patriotic feeling and voices the aspirations of the people, is really an instance of setting to right things which have been thrown into disorder.

Perhaps some people feel disappointed not to hear such cheers as "Long live the Communist Party of China!" when people spontaneously celebrate a victory. However, such disappointment will be proved unnecessary. There have been many outstanding Chinese players and athletes in the international contests. Where does their strength come from? First, it comes from their iron will to win honor for the motherland and secondly, from their national traits of diligence and industriousness. If all achievements are considered to be contributions of a person or a party, it is undoubtedly an expression of the unhealthy tendency of arrogating to oneself the merits of others. In the Olympic games, the Soviet athletes have won more gold medals than other countries. Can they owe all these achievements to Krushchev, Brezhnev and the CPSU? When the U.S. space shuttle returned to earth and the spacemen appeared to meet the cheering crowd, who ever heard anyone shouting "Long live Reagan!" and "Long live the Republican Party!?"

Today on the mainland there are many people who do not have faith in the Communist Party and in socialism. This has historical and social roots. However, if they love their country and the people, they are in no way to blame. We hold that the primary standard with which to judge whether a man is a good citizen is none other than patriotism (including the love for the people).

The raising of such a viewpoint will probably make some people fly into a rage. However, we hope they will calm down a little bit and consider the following two questions first:

1. Which is more important, the country or the party? The people or the party?
2. Have conditions yet been created under which people are able to love their "country" and the "party" as well?

The answer to the first question is: the country and the people are more important and should come first. A political party is but a political organization of part of the people and can never be placed above the state and the people. Even if the Communist Party becomes a party of the whole people in the future, it still can only exist among the people. It is natural that the Communist Party will wither away in the future, but the people will never wither away.

The answer to the second question is: If the Communist Party is really a patriotic party and a party that cherishes the people, if the great majority of its members and cadres are selfless and love the people to the extreme (instead of loving their power, fame and money to the extreme), the people will naturally love the Communist Party voluntarily and willingly. However, if within the Communist Party there are serious unhealthy tendencies, if quite a number of its members lack a correct understanding of Marxism-Leninism and socialism, and if one cannot even find a cell of loving the country and the people for their own sake, then the Communist Party should first rectify itself, be strict with itself and not be hard on others.

Now the enthusiasm of patriotism has been aroused among the broad masses of people, which is a "must" for the construction of the country and the practice of socialism. The wisest choice of the Communist Party should be:

1. To seize the opportunity and bring into play the initiative of the masses;
2. To rectify the unhealthy tendencies within the party in good time.

Shall we launch a patriotic contest and see whether the Communist Party is in the vanguard in loving the country and cherishing the people?

ACCEPTANCE OF UNIFICATION PROPOSAL URGED

HK031105 Hong Kong TA KUNG PAO in Chinese 3 Dec 81 p 2

[Special feature by Cheng Yuan [4453 6678]: "What Is the Advantage for Taiwan in Stubbornly Rejecting the 'Nine Points'?"]

[Text] A few days ago, two of Beijing's leaders once again called upon Mr Chiang Ching-kuo to accept peace talks and discuss the great cause of reunification as soon as possible. Issued by Peng Chong and Liao Chengzhi, the messages showed once again the sincere desire for and confidence of the CCP in the peaceful reunification of the motherland.

The sincere desire and confidence of the CCP stems from highest national interest, the "plan" of the state and "benefit" to the state and from the strong desire of the people on both sides of the Taiwan Strait for the peaceful reunification of the motherland; at the same time they stem from the correct judgment and policy arrived at after making a comprehensive survey of the whole situation.

Since Ye Jianying put forth the "nine-point" proposal for peace talks, the Kuomintang's reactions have been those of fear, delay and rejection. Liao Chengzhi's words, which were aimed at freeing the other party from doubts and misgivings, were the most reliable explanation of the "nine points." If it should happen that Taiwan fails to straighten out its thinking for a time, it can give the matter further thought. Beijing can make full allowances for its plight and does not expect to achieve reunification over night. However, it may not be appropriate to delay it for a long time.

It is still less a permanent solution to stubbornly reject it. How can one win the confidence of others simply by hanging up the signboard of "reunifying China with the three people's principles?" Take the so-called "deliberation on reunifying China with the three people's principles" sponsored singlehandedly by the Kuomintang on the 21st of last month, for example. It was held in a very unrepresentable manner and the words spoken did not hang together.

At the "deliberation," claimed to be "unprecedented in scale," there were very few speakers. This was a case of loud thunder but small raindrops. It opened in the morning and ended in the afternoon, "fading off" at last with the concoction of a proposal called the "great alliance for reunifying China with the three people's principles."

The reasons for the Kuomintang hanging high the banner of "reunifying China with the three people's principles" were obvious long ago, but we can leave them aside for the moment. However, the directors of the "deliberation," in total disregard both of the realities known to all and the consequences, talked irresponsibly, saying that the mainland was "beset with difficulties at home and abroad" and was "in imminent danger" and thus it had to put forward the nine-point proposal "in an attempt to put up a desperate fight like a beast at bay." The fact that the Kuomintang dared to utter a lie such as this shows that the Kuomintang was unable to correct the bad old practices and did not firmly bear in mind the "bitter lessons" of the past. This is what the gentlemen in the Kuomintang should deliberate carefully.

Apart from its lengthy and tedious lies, the "deliberation" also uttered some true words. They were admitting that "China's reunification was the desire of all Chinese." This is very correct because the realization of the reunification of the motherland is indeed "the desire of all Chinese," and "at present all sons and daughters of the Chinese nation at home and abroad hope for China's reunification." However, it was incongruous to say that "the CCP dared not oppose China's reunification" because the CCP has always strived for the peaceful reunification and has put forth the "nine-point" proposal for peace talks. What is there to be afraid of? To put it bluntly, those who are really afraid of the reunification but "dare not oppose reunification" are none other than the directors of the "deliberation."

Those without a valid title and are not justified in speaking. Opening and ending in a hurry, the "deliberation" was full of holes and often failed to offer tenable arguments. Not long ago, the mass media of the Kuomintang were unanimous in calling the "nine-point" proposal a "scheme in united front work" and a "propaganda offensive," but the "deliberation" made a 180 degree turn, saying that the "nine-point proposal" was not an "offensive" but "a painful reaction of the Beijing ruling circles to our pressure." There were plenty of people who felt the "pressure," but they were not the "people in authority in Beijing." As a matter of fact, the "nine-point" proposal was neither an "offensive" nor a "defensive," still less a "painful reaction," but a reasonable justifiable, open and aboveboard program. Just as Liao Chengzhi pointed out in his talks: The nine points were not used as a kind of propaganda offensive; still less were the nine points used to 'checkmate' the other party. The nine points were considered from the supreme interest of and benefit to the nation and the people. For the reunification of the motherland and in the national interest, it is necessary to do this." If the "nine-point" proposal put forth by Ye Jianying was aimed at "mitigating the crisis," why was it that China did not create tension in the Taiwan Strait but proposed to hold talks with the Kuomintang on a reciprocal basis and strove by every means for peaceful reunification? The Kuomintang must have a pretty good idea as to whom all the credit should go for easing tension in the Taiwan Strait.

In this report of government work at the NPC session, Zhao Ziyang reaffirmed that "it is imperative to promote the return of Taiwan to the motherland according to the policies and principles announced by the NPC Chairman Ye Jianying on 30 September this year as well as according to the guidelines in the speech made by Chairman Hu Yaobang at the mass rally in commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the 1911 revolution." This paragraph in Zhao Ziyang's speech shows that the CCP is firm and unshakable and is full of confidence in its determination to strive for the reunification of the motherland. Since China can seek common ground while reserving differences with foreign countries, why cannot a family set store by the righteous cause of the nation and seek common ground on major issues while reserving differences on minor ones? Doubts and fear can be eliminated, and delaying tactics cannot be used over a long period. Peaceful reunification, being the trend of the times and the desire of the people, is impossible to stubbornly refuse forever. For the sake of the country and the people and the Kuomintang, the Kuomintang authorities would be well advised to accept peace talks as soon as possible.

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